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Gettysburg and Lincoln

The Battle, the Cemetery, and
the National Park

By
Henry Sweetser Burrage

Brevet Major, U. S. Vols.

Illustrated

G. P. Putnam's Sons

New York and London

The Knickerbocker Press

1906

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TO

LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN P. NICHOLSON

SOLDIER AND PATRIOT

94675

PREFACE

IN the autumn of 1904, I obtained a photograph of a manuscript copy of President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. At first I supposed I had a photograph of the original manuscript, as unmistakably the handwriting was Mr. Lincoln's, and the copy was dated November 19, 1863, the date of the consecration of the cemetery at Gettysburg. But in an extended search for the facts connected with the address, it was made plain that what I had was a photograph of a manuscript copy of the address,—a copy made by Mr. Lincoln in April, 1864,—and not a photograph of the original manuscript. In the course of my investigations I obtained so many interesting facts concerning the composition and delivery of Mr. Lincoln's address that I finally decided to bring together my material in the form in which it appears in Part II of this volume. The story of the battle and the record of the development

of the National Park were added in order to present in a connected way the principal facts covering the period from the commencement of the Gettysburg campaign to the present time.

The principal sources of my information concerning the battle are to be found in the "Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies." Other sources are sufficiently indicated in the foot-notes. In the preparation of the part of the work pertaining to the cemetery and President Lincoln's address, I am indebted to the late Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State, and especially to an article in the *Century Magazine* by Mr. John G. Nicolay, President Lincoln's private secretary. Much material for an account of the development of the National Park was found in Vanderslice's *History of the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association*, and in the annual reports of the Gettysburg National Park Commission.

In various visits to the battle-field I have received invaluable aid from Lieut.-Colonel John P. Nicholson, chairman of the Gettysburg National Park Commission, also from his associates on the Commission. The maps indicating the position

of both armies July 1st, 2d, and 3d, have received the correction and approval of Lieut.-Colonel E. B. Cope, the Engineer of the Commission. The illustrations are from photographs made by the well-known Gettysburg photographer, W. H. Tipton—a selection from his large collection of views illustrating the battle-field.

H. S. B.

TOGUS, MAINE, July 4, 1906.

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PART I
THE BATTLE

THE BATTLE

CHAPTER I

LEE CROSSES THE POTOMAC

AFTER the battle of Chancellorsville, Hooker reorganized the Army of the Potomac. The following generals were assigned to the command of the several corps of the army: to the First, Reynolds; to the Second, Hancock; to the Third, Sickles; to the Fifth, Meade; to the Sixth, Sedgwick; to the Eleventh, Howard; and to the Twelfth, Slocum. The Cavalry Corps was commanded by Brigadier-General George Stoneman, and consisted of three divisions under Pleasonton, Averill, and Gregg, together with the Regular Reserve Cavalry Brigade commanded by Buford. On May 22, 1863, Stoneman was relieved from duty with the Army of the Potomac, as also was Averill, and the command of Averill's division devolved on Colonel Duffié of the First Rhode Island Cavalry. To General Hunt was given the artillery command, which consisted of sixty-five

batteries, with three hundred and seventy guns. The entire force numbered about eighty-two thousand men, which at the time of the battle of Gettysburg had been increased to a little more than ninety thousand.

At the same time Lee divided his nine divisions of the Army of Northern Virginia, hitherto brought together in two army corps commanded by Longstreet and Jackson, into three army corps of three divisions each. Longstreet retained the command of the First, Ewell was assigned to the Second, and A. P. Hill to the Third. The artillery, which hitherto had been divided among the several divisions of the two corps, was now placed under the command of General W. N. Pendleton, and comprised fifteen battalions, each composed of four batteries of four pieces, sixteen in all. These fifteen battalions were divided among the three corps, each receiving five battalions or eighty guns. With the cavalry were five mounted batteries of six pieces each. The whole gave Lee two hundred and seventy guns. The cavalry, in a single division, was under the command of General J. E. B. Stuart. Lee's whole force is estimated at about seventy-eight thousand men.

While Lee was engaged in reorganizing his army, he was at the same time busy in planning an invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Such an inva-

sion promised relief to Pemberton's army besieged by Grant at Vicksburg. It was also thought that a campaign on Northern soil would be helpful to the Confederate cause abroad. The time seemed favorable for a movement of this kind. It was known that in May and June Hooker's army would lose about fifteen thousand men by the expiration of their term of service. Moreover, defeat at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, it was supposed, had so dampened the ardor of the North with reference to the war as to make the enlistment of new troops more and more difficult. It was also thought that the proposed invasion would furnish an occasion for developing among those who had been half-hearted hitherto a feeling of hostility to the further prosecution of the war. On the other hand, Lee was receiving enthusiastic recruits. To his men, flushed with victory and eager for an aggressive campaign on Northern soil, no task seemed too great. The failure of the Maryland campaign, in 1862, was either forgotten or lightly passed over. The right time for a successful invasion of the North seemed to have come, and Lee and his officers bent all their energies to preparations for transferring the seat of war from Virginia to Maryland and Pennsylvania.

At length all was ready. Lee was at the head of a solid, strong, effective body of men. Leaving Hill's corps at Fredericksburg in order to detain

Hooker in his present quarters by the display of a large Confederate force in that place and vicinity, Lee concentrated the rest of his army at Culpeper Court-House, near his cavalry headquarters. But Hooker was not unmindful of the fact that Lee was meditating a movement northward. This he had learned from his secret-service helpers, and on May 28th he informed President Lincoln that the Army of Northern Virginia was about to make an advance in that direction.

At the same time Hooker was busy with problems having reference to his own movements for the purpose of thwarting the enemy. One thing he deemed essential in order to a successful prosecution of his plans, namely that he should have the control of all the forces operating against Lee; and in a telegram to the President he sought to impress this suggestion upon the mind of the chief executive. "Under instructions from the Major-General commanding the army, dated January 31st," he said, "I am instructed to keep 'in view always the importance of covering Washington and Harper's Ferry, either directly or by so operating as to be able to punish any force of the enemy sent against them.' In the event the enemy should move, as I almost anticipate he will, the head of his column will probably be headed toward the Potomac, via Gordonsville or Culpeper, while the rear will rest on

Fredericksburg. After giving the subject my best reflection, I am of the opinion that it is my duty to pitch into his rear, although in so doing the head of his column may reach Warrenton before I can return. Will it be within the spirit of my instructions to do so?"¹

In his reply to this telegram, Mr. Lincoln, on the same date, said: "So much of professional military skill is requisite to answer it, that I have turned the task over to General Halleck. He promises to perform it with his utmost care. I have but one idea which I think worth suggesting to you, and that is, in case you find Lee coming to the north of the Rappahannock, I would by no means cross to the south of it. If he should leave a rear force at Fredericksburg, tempting you to fall upon it, it would fight in intrenchments and have you at disadvantage, and so, man for man, worst you at that point, while his main force would in some way be getting an advantage of you northward. In one word, I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear, without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other. If Lee would come to my side of the river, I would keep on the same side, and fight him or act on the defense,

¹ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, serial xliii., p. 30.

according as might be my estimate of his strength relatively to my own. But these are mere suggestions, which I desire to be controlled by the judgment of yourself and General Halleck." ¹

General Halleck, in his reply to this telegram, assured Hooker that by his instructions of January 31st, he was left entirely free to act as circumstances might require with the simple injunction "to keep in view the safety of Washington and Harper's Ferry." Should Lee leave a part of his forces in Fredericksburg, while with the head of his column he moved by Gordonsville or Culpeper toward the Potomac, he thought that such a movement would give Hooker great advantages upon his flank to cut him in two, and fight his divided forces. "Would it not be more advantageous to fight his movable column first, instead of first attacking his intrenchments, with your own forces separated by the Rappahannock?"

Lee commenced his movement for the concentration of his army at Culpeper, June 3d. A change in the encampments of the enemy was early discovered by observers within Hooker's line. On the evening of the day in which Hooker sent his telegram to the President, and received in return the above comments made by the President and

¹ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, serial xliii., p. 31.

General Halleck, he informed the President that he had concluded to make a demonstration on the enemy by throwing a couple of bridges across the Rappahannock at Franklin's Crossing, in order to learn if possible what the enemy was doing. On the pontoons thus laid, Sedgwick crossed the river that afternoon, captured about fifty prisoners, who reported that the changes noticed in their camps proceeded from the reorganization of their army. It was said that all of Longstreet's command was with Lee, and that Lee had no infantry force higher up the Rappahannock than its junction with the Rapidan. But this information, which was misinformation, did not satisfy Hooker long, and on June 7th he ordered Pleasonton to make a reconnaissance in the direction of Culpeper. Two infantry brigades were added to his command. It was an opportune movement. Stuart had invited Lee to review the Confederate cavalry at Brandy Station on the 8th. The review was held, and, as Stuart designed, made an impressive display. On the evening of that day, Stuart bivouacked near the station, establishing his headquarters on Fleetwood Hill. His force amounted to about nine thousand five hundred men. The Union force was not as large. Pleasonton, in his movement, kept his communications open by means of the infantry, and directed his division commanders to rendez-

vous at Brandy Station, supposing Stuart to be at Culpeper. While Duffiè was advancing by way of Stevensburg, Buford with his division came upon the enemy between Brandy Station and Beverly Ford. A sharp contest lasting several hours followed, and then Buford withdrew. Later Gregg encountered Stuart, getting into his rear, but like Buford he fought alone, and after a brisk, sharp engagement, Gregg withdrew. But so severely was Stuart handled by both Buford and Gregg that infantry supports were required by Stuart in resisting them, a fact that revealed to Pleasonton the presence of Lee's infantry in the neighborhood, and indicated that a movement northward on Lee's part had already commenced.

In the cavalry engagement at Brandy Station, Gregg commanded his own division (the Third) and Duffiè's (the Second). Subsequently the Cavalry Corps was again reorganized, and comprised two divisions, the first commanded by Buford and the second by Gregg. Each of the divisions consisted of three brigades. Stuart's force was badly crippled at Brandy Station, while the effect of that engagement upon Pleasonton's force was highly inspiring.

Ewell left Culpeper, June 10th, with orders to clear the valley of the Union forces then occupying its lower part. On June 11th, Milroy, who was at Winchester with a large Union garrison, when

informed of Confederate movements in the valley—a cavalry raid by Stuart having been mentioned in a despatch from Halleck—expressed confidence in his ability to hold his position against any force the enemy could bring against him. As late as June 12th, General Schenck, to whose command Milroy belonged, telegraphed to General Halleck, “Have you any knowledge or belief that there is any rebel infantry in the valley or north of the Rapahannock, or this side of the Blue Ridge? There seems to me to be yet only parties of cavalry.” On the 14th, Ewell attacked Milroy, whose force easily and speedily was “shattered and scattered,” Milroy with the remnant of his command falling back to Harper’s Ferry, abandoning his artillery and wagon-trains, also his sick and wounded.

Hooker left his position opposite Fredericksburg June 13th, and proceeded to place his army on the line of the Orange and Alexandria railroad. Reynolds was in command of the left wing of the Army of the Potomac, consisting of the First, Third, and Eleventh corps, Doubleday succeeding him in the command of the First Corps. Hooker was with the right wing of the army embracing the Second, Fifth, Sixth, and Twelfth corps. With the disappearance of the Sixth Corps from Stafford Heights—the last of the Union troops to leave—Hill started for Culpeper. Longstreet left Cul-

peper June 15th, with orders to move along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, covering the Confederate advance with Stuart's cavalry, which took its place between Longstreet's corps and the Union army. While engaged in this movement, and while Hill was entering the valley in his rear, Longstreet found that Lee had so far modified his plan as to authorize Stuart, when the opportunity should arrive, to cross the Potomac in Hooker's rear with three of his five brigades, and passing around his right to rejoin the main body of the army in its northward march—a fatal mistake on Lee's part, for in his “nomadic ride,” as Longstreet calls it, Stuart left Lee without the means of securing needed information concerning the whereabouts of the Union army, while the results of Stuart's raid were of the most meagre kind.

On June 22d, Lee's force was so well in hand that he ordered Ewell to cross the Potomac and move his columns toward the Susquehanna by way of Emmittsburg, Chambersburg, and McConnellsburg. “If Harrisburg comes within your means,” he added, “capture it.” Ewell crossed the Potomac on the 23d, at Shepherdstown. Longstreet's corps crossed at Williamsport on the 24th. Hill, with his corps, was on the Maryland side one day later. The three corps came together at Hagerstown, Md. On the 27th, Longstreet and Hill were at Chambers-

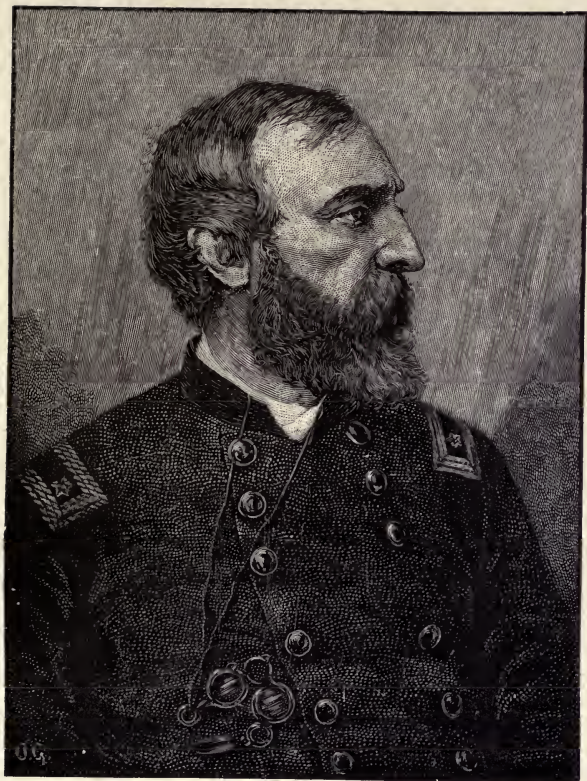
burg, Pa. Rodes and Johnson's divisions of Ewell's corps had at that time advanced as far as Carlisle, while Early's division was on the way to York, via Greenwood and Gettysburg. Early pushed on rapidly, and succeeded in breaking the railroad between Baltimore and Harrisburg on the 28th, but was unable to seize the bridge over the Susquehanna at Wrightsville as he hoped, the bridge before his arrival having been burned by a small militia force; and he accordingly retired to York, where he bivouacked that night. Lee, receiving intelligence to the effect that Hooker had crossed the Potomac and was moving northward—not knowing, however, how far or in what direction he had advanced—now ordered Ewell to retrace his steps and rejoin the rest of the army at Cashtown, whither Hill was directed to move his corps on the 28th, while Longstreet was to follow on the next day.

Ewell's movement secured needed supplies for Lee's army, but at the same time it served most effectively to arouse the people of Pennsylvania to the dangers that threatened them; indeed it quickened the war spirit throughout the North as nothing else could have done. Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania called for sixty thousand men for the defence of the Keystone State, and the call was promptly answered. Enlistments were now hastened in all of the States.

Meanwhile Hooker was making his way northward, covering the capital in his march. He began to cross the Potomac at Edward's Ferry on the 25th, and the crossing was completed on the following day. The First and Third corps encamped near Middletown, while the Eleventh Corps advanced to Boonsborough. The Second, Fifth, and Sixth corps were halted at Frederick, while the Twelfth was sent to Harper's Ferry. In connection with this corps Hooker desired to use the garrison at Harper's Ferry in a movement on Lee's communications, but Halleck refused to give his consent, and on the 28th, Hooker, regarding this refusal as an indication that his plans would continue to be thwarted by Halleck, asked to be relieved of his command, and the request was granted.

In making his request to be relieved, General Hooker said: "My original instructions require me to cover Harper's Ferry and Washington. I have now imposed upon me, in addition, an enemy in my front of more than my number. I beg to be understood, respectfully, but firmly, that I am unable to comply with this condition with the means at my disposal."¹ Hooker's desire to increase his effective force by the addition of troops at Harper's Ferry and vicinity was a reasonable one, but he

¹ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, serial xliii, p. 60.



Maj.-Gen. Geo. G. Meade.

certainly overestimated the strength of Lee's army in comparison with his own.

General Meade, commanding the Fifth Corps, was made Hooker's successor. In his letter to Meade accompanying the order which placed him in command of the Army of the Potomac, General Halleck said: "You will not be hampered by any minute instructions from these headquarters. Your army is free to act as you may deem proper under the circumstances as they arise. You will, however, keep in view the important fact that the Army of the Potomac is the covering army of Washington, as well as the army of operation against the invading forces of the rebels. You will, therefore, maneuver and fight in such a manner as to cover the capital and also Baltimore, as far as circumstances will admit. Should General Lee move upon either of these places, it is expected that you will either anticipate him or arrive so as to give him battle. All forces within the sphere of your operations will be held subject to your orders. Harper's Ferry and its garrison are under your direct orders."¹

The command of the Fifth Corps was now given to one of its division commanders, General George Sykes. A reorganization of the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac took place on the 28th. Kil-

¹ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, serial xliii, p. 61.

patrick, who had commanded a brigade in Gregg's division, was placed in command of Stahel's division, which was then added to the Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Potomac as the Third Division. Buford was left in command of the First Division and Gregg of the Second.

On the morning of the 29th, after ascertaining the position of the several corps of his command, Meade continued the movement of the army northward, directing the left wing, consisting of the First, Third, and Eleventh corps under Reynolds, to proceed to Emmittsburg, while he advanced his right wing as far as New Windsor. The Cavalry Corps was in the advance, Buford on the left, Kilpatrick in front, and Gregg on the right.

At 11 A. M. on the 29th, in the following telegram to General Halleck, Meade disclosed his general purpose as follows: "If Lee is moving for Baltimore, I expect to get between his main army and that place. If he is crossing the Susquehanna, I shall rely upon General Couch, with his force, holding him until I can fall upon his rear and give him battle which I shall endeavor to do. . . . My endeavor will be, in my movements, to hold my force well together, with the hope of falling upon some portions of Lee's army in detail."

On the night of June 30th, the position of the Army of Northern Virginia was as follows: General

Lee's headquarters were at Greenwood. A part of the First Corps under Longstreet was at Greenwood and a part at Chambersburg, twenty-four miles from Gettysburg. A part of the Second Corps under Hill was at Heidlersburg, ten miles from Gettysburg, and the rest near Green Village, twenty-three miles from Gettysburg. A part of the Third Corps under Ewell was at Cashtown, eight miles from Gettysburg, and the rest was at Greenwood.¹

The position of the several corps of the Army of the Potomac on the same night was as follows: The First Corps was at Marsh Creek on the Emmittsburg road, six miles from Gettysburg; the Second Corps at Uniontown, twenty-two miles distant; the Third Corps at Bridgeport, twelve miles distant; the Fifth Corps at Union Mills, fifteen miles distant; the Sixth Corps at Manchester, twenty-two miles distant; the Eleventh Corps at Emmittsburg, twelve miles distant; and the Twelfth Corps at Littletown, nine miles distant. Buford's cavalry, except one brigade guarding the train, was at Gettysburg. Kilpatrick was at Hanover, thirteen miles distant, and Gregg at Manchester, twenty-two miles distant. The artillery reserve under Hunt was at Taneytown with Meade and the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, fourteen miles distant.²

¹Longstreet's *From Manassas to Appomattox*, p. 349.

²Hunt, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 273.

On that day, Heth, commanding a division in Hill's corps, ordered Pettigrew's brigade to proceed from Cashtown to Gettysburg in order to procure for his men a supply of shoes, which it was supposed the stores of the place could supply, notwithstanding the heavy draft Early had made upon them a few days before. As Pettigrew, about half-past nine,¹ was entering the town—he came as far as the crest of Seminary Hill—he probably learned of the approach of Buford's cavalry, and ignorant as to the strength of the Union force he retired without any effort to take possession of the place. Falling back to Marsh Creek, Pettigrew halted his men for the night, and then hurried on to Cashtown to report the presence of Union troops at Gettysburg.

Buford, who about half-past eleven entered the town, and moved out on the Chambersburg pike as far as the McPherson farm, likewise informed his superior officers of Pettigrew's approach and retirement. From what he learned in questioning stragglers picked up by his scouts, he was satisfied that Lee's army was not far away. His own small force of about four thousand men he placed in position as the day drew to a close, and awaited the developments which he felt sure the next day would bring.

¹*Notes on the Rebel Invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania*, by Professor M. Jacobs, 1864, p. 21.

CHAPTER II

GETTYSBURG. THE FIRST DAY

HAVING accomplished the concentration of his army at Cashtown, Lee now set his columns in motion toward Gettysburg. At five o'clock, on the morning of July 1st, Hill, taking the divisions of Heth and Pender, was on his way to the place. On approaching Gettysburg, he found Gamble's and Devin's brigades of Buford's cavalry dismounted holding the ridges west of the town, their skirmishers well out in advance, it being Buford's purpose to hold the enemy in check as long as possible in order that Reynolds might reach the field with his infantry, while the Confederates were still on that side of Gettysburg.

The rest of Lee's army was to follow. Longstreet says Lee asked him to ride with him that morning, and that he found Lee in his usual cheerful spirits. Longstreet's column, on leaving Greenwood, had not proceeded far before it encountered Johnson's division of Ewell's corps, which cut in on his front with all of Ewell's reserve and supply trains. Lee ordered Longstreet to halt, directing

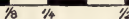
Johnson's division and trains to pass on and join Ewell. Not long after, the report of cannon was heard, apparently beyond Cashtown, and as the firing increased Lee left Longstreet, and hurried toward Gettysburg. He knew that Meade was not far away, and the need of his cavalry, as a means of securing information, he now felt more keenly than ever.

Meade's orders for the day were as follows: The First and Eleventh Corps were to proceed to Gettysburg; the Second to Taneytown; the Third to Emmittsburg; the Fifth to Hanover; and the Twelfth to Two Taverns, Slocum being directed to take command of the Fifth Corps as well as his own. The Sixth Corps was left at Manchester. At the same time Meade ordered his engineer officers to select a battle-ground for the approaching conflict, suggesting the general line of Pipe Creek as a favorable position.

But the battle between the approaching forces was not to be fought at Pipe Creek. Events were already in progress interrupting the Union commander's plans. Buford, on the morning of July 1st, had his scouts far out on the roads westward and northward of Gettysburg. As early as six o'clock reports came to him that the enemy was again approaching. The disposition of his little force had already been made. Devin's brigade, on



Reynolds's Statue.



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the right, was in line between the Mummasburg road and the railway cut. Gamble's brigade extended the line to the left as far as the Hagerstown road, his first line being along the banks of Willoughby Run. Those early morning hours to Buford were full of anxiety. Would Reynolds arrive before his little cavalry command would be swept away by Hill's advance? The signal officer in the Seminary tower at length discovered the approach of Reynolds' columns, and, not long after, Reynolds himself, having hastened thitherward in advance of his troops, met Buford at the signal station and received from him a statement as to the situation in his front. It was now fifteen minutes before ten, and the strong force of the enemy was making things lively along the whole Union line, but Buford was confident that he could hold on until the arrival of the First Corps. Both Buford and Reynolds at once rode out to encourage the men to maintain their ground, while Reynolds sent word to Wadsworth to hurry forward his division which had the advance. Wadsworth, approaching the town, found Reynolds¹ awaiting him, and by his direction, leaving the road, moved his men hurriedly across fields to Seminary Ridge in front of McMillan's and Dr. Schmucker's. Advancing then to the

¹ *Two Days of War. A Gettysburg Narrative*, by General Henry E. Tremain, p. 12.

front,—it was now a few minutes past ten,—he at once brought his two brigades into line to relieve Buford's cavalymen. Cutler's brigade was placed on the right covering the Chambersburg pike, while Meredith's brigade—the Iron Brigade—took possession of McPherson's woods.

Heth, in his advance, had ordered Archer's brigade to attack on the right of the Chambersburg pike. This brought him in Meredith's front. Davis's brigade was in position on the left of the pike, with Pettigrew's brigade and Brockenbrough's —Heth's old brigade—in reserve.

Hardly were Cutler's men across the Chambersburg pike, when they were confronted with Heth's advance. Wadsworth was with his men on the right of the road, while Reynolds gave his attention to the left. As Doubleday had now come upon the field in advance of the remaining divisions of the First Corps, Reynolds directed him to look out for the left of the line, and he remained near the centre. Meanwhile Archer's brigade was pushing forward to gain McPherson's woods, and it had just reached the woods when Meredith entered from the other side. Reynolds was sitting on his horse near the edge of the woods awaiting the result of Meredith's advance, when he was struck by a ball and died instantly. This was at half-past ten. The great loss the army had sustained in

Reynolds' death was unknown to Meredith's men. In an impetuous charge they broke the enemy's line and captured a large part of Archer's brigade, including Archer himself. Pressing forward, the men of the Iron Brigade did not slacken their pace in the pursuit of the enemy until they had crossed Willoughby Run. On the other side of the Chambersburg pike, Davis also suffered severely at the hands of Wadsworth's men, and his ranks were considerably thinned. The two brigades—Archer's and Davis's—lost more than half of their effective force. Davis, however, compelled Cutler to abandon his first line, and fall back several hundred yards to a ridge connecting Oak Hill with Seminary Ridge.

With Wadsworth's men on the left of the Chambersburg pike, resisting Heth's approach to Gettysburg, a citizen of the town, John Burns, over seventy years of age, having shouldered his musket in the morning hours, took a place with the skirmishers of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Pennsylvania, and was wounded three times.

"The enemy had now been felt," says Heth in his report, "and found to be in heavy force in and around Gettysburg." In accordance with his instructions, therefore, he awaited the arrival of reinforcements, which he knew could not be far away.

When Reynolds was killed, Doubleday assumed the command, and strengthened his lines as the other divisions of the First Corps arrived upon the field about eleven o'clock. Howard, commanding the Eleventh Corps, had held a long conference with Reynolds the evening before, and was directed by him to move his corps to Gettysburg starting at eight o'clock in the morning. At that time the column was set in motion, and then Howard left for Gettysburg in advance of his troops. On his arrival at Gettysburg, he sent one of his staff officers to find Reynolds in order to report to him at once in person. This was about eleven o'clock. Ascending to the top of a high building in the town, he had a view of the scene of the fighting thus far. While he was making this hasty survey of the field, word was brought to him that Reynolds had been wounded, and then at half-past eleven he was told that Reynolds had been killed. The command of the left wing of the army now devolved upon Howard as the senior officer upon the field, and he turned over the command of the Eleventh Corps to General Schurz.

Of Reynolds' plans, formed after his arrival at Gettysburg, he had of course no information. So good a soldier as Reynolds, however, could hardly have failed, even in a brief examination of the general features of the face of the country about



Gettysburg's Hero, John Burns.

Gettysburg, to notice the high ground in his rear beyond the town.¹ Howard saw it, and at the same time he saw the importance of seizing and holding it in the conflict that had already commenced. He accordingly established his headquarters near the cemetery, on the highest point north of the Baltimore pike. Sending back word for the Eleventh Corps to hasten forward, Howard notified Meade of the death of Reynolds, and requested Slocum at Two Taverns to bring up the Twelfth Corps.

In order to meet a request for reinforcements, made by Doubleday, Howard, on the arrival of the Eleventh Corps between twelve and one o'clock, sent the divisions of Schimmelpfennig and Barlow

¹ General Henry E. Tremain in his *Two Days of War. A Gettysburg Narrative*, says (pp.10-12) that he was sent by Sickles to Reynolds in the forenoon of July 1st to report that Sickles was on the way to Gettysburg. He found Reynolds coming out of Gettysburg on the Emmittsburg road looking for the approach of Wadsworth. He informed Reynolds that Wadsworth was near. While there "where the highway skirts a field at the base of the old cemetery," Reynolds, talking to himself as he surveyed rapidly the scene, and pointing toward Cemetery Hill, said: "That would be a good place, but I would like to save the town." Pausing, as his eyes swept the horizon to the south and west and northwest he added, "If I form there, it might destroy the town." A gun sounded out on Buford's line, and the quiet voice continued: "But I doubt if I shall have time to form the other side of the town." Meanwhile Wadsworth rode up. "What are your wishes, General Reynolds?" Reynolds pointed to the west and said "you had better turn off here," and Wadsworth led his column across the fields over Seminary Ridge to Buford's relief.

to prolong Doubleday's line to the right toward Oak Hill, leaving Steinwehr's division and a part of the artillery on Cemetery Hill in reserve. At an early hour in the afternoon, Buford reported to Doubleday the approach of Ewell from the north. This information was at once sent to Howard. Before Howard was able to seize Oak Hill as he had hoped, however, Ewell was in possession of that important position. Howard now changed the front of the Eleventh Corps so as to meet Ewell's assault when it should come, while Devin's cavalry was moved so as to cover the exposed flank of the Eleventh Corps.

From Oak Hill, about half-past one, Ewell opened fire with his artillery. Like Heth he had been instructed by Lee, should he find the Union troops in force at Gettysburg, not to bring on a general engagement until the rest of the army had reached the place. As he now came upon the field, he at once found himself involved in a battle already begun. The situation, as he viewed it, seemed to give promise of success, and he decided to join Hill in the endeavor to achieve it. Ewell's attack was spirited and well directed. Later Early's division came up on the Heidlersburg road, opened a heavy artillery fire, and later he advanced his infantry under Gordon. The position of the Eleventh Corps afforded no hope of effective service in the face of

the strong force which the Confederates now had in its front and on its flank. In fact, in all parts of the field, as the afternoon wore away, the pressure of the Confederate advance was increasingly great. The exposed line of the Eleventh Corps was gradually driven back. Barlow, one of Schurz's division commanders, was severely wounded. The First Corps, which had made a strong, determined resistance in the face of Hill's onslaughts, was also compelled to yield one position after another as the day wore away. From all parts of the field earnest requests came to Howard for reinforcements, and both Slocum and Sickles were urged to hasten forward their corps in order that these calls might be answered. About four o'clock Howard sent word to Doubleday to retire to Cemetery Hill if he could not maintain his position longer; and a few minutes later, seeing the necessity of withdrawing all the troops on the other side of the town at once, he ordered the First and Eleventh corps to fall back beyond the town, and take position on the high ground in and about the cemetery, the First Corps on the left of the Baltimore pike and the Eleventh on the right, while Steinwehr's division was so placed as to prevent the enemy from attempting to follow. There was some confusion as the two commands came through the streets of the town. At half-past

four the two corps had taken this new position, and Ewell had possession of the town.

About this time Hancock reached Gettysburg. He had come from Meade, who was at Taneytown, and Meade had given to him a verbal order placing all the troops at Gettysburg under his command. Howard was Hancock's senior in rank, and the announcement made by Hancock was very naturally not a pleasing one to Howard. In his official report of his connection with the battle, however, Howard says: "We agreed at once that there was no time for talking, and that General Hancock should further arrange the troops and place the batteries upon the Baltimore pike, while I should take the right of the same."

Both Howard and Hancock have been credited with the selection of the position taken by the Union forces at the close of the first day's fighting at Gettysburg. The fact, however, that Howard in the forenoon, on assuming the command of the left wing of the army after the death of Reynolds, made Cemetery Hill his headquarters, ordered Steinwehr's division to remain at this point on the arrival of the Eleventh Corps, and there rallied his defeated troops as they fell back through the town—all before Hancock's arrival at Gettysburg—would seem to establish the claim in Howard's behalf; and doubtless it was because of these facts

that Congress coupled Howard's name with Meade's in the vote of thanks tendered not long after the battle to these two officers "for the skill and heroic valor" which brought the battle at Gettysburg to a successful issue.

In the arrangement of the Union forces on the high ground back of the town, Wadsworth's division was sent to Culp's Hill, while the cavalry extended the infantry line to the left, the two bodies not failing to make an impression upon Early in his search for an opportunity to force the Union army out of its favorable position.

Lee came upon the field in season to witness the closing operations of the day. Longstreet, on his arrival not long after,—having preceded his corps in his desire to be at the front,—says that after he had looked at the Union position, he remarked to Lee, "We could not call the enemy to position better suited to our plans. All we have to do is to file around his left, and secure good ground between him and his capital." Recalling what Lee had conceded before the campaign commenced, as Longstreet supposed, namely that "the policy of the campaign should be one of defensive tactics," Longstreet thought what he had said would meet with Lee's approval. He was not a little surprised, therefore, when the general with considerable emphasis replied,

"If he is there to-morrow I will attack him."¹

It has been thought by some that Lee would have adopted a wiser course if he had made his attack upon the Union lines at once, without giving his opponents opportunity to concentrate and make the position they had taken defensible, inasmuch as his force largely outnumbered the part of Meade's army then present. It should be remembered, however, that Lee did not know this, while he could see at a glance the strong natural features of the position, suggesting delay until his own forces were well in hand.

Of course this delay was of incalculable benefit to the Union army. The troops lost no time in making themselves as secure as the means at their command permitted. Before morning they were quite well established in their new lines, and awaited only the arrival of the other corps of the Army of the Potomac in order to be ready for another close grapple with the Army of Northern Virginia.

Hancock, in his report, says that soon after his arrival at Gettysburg, he made known to Meade the situation as he found it, "informing him that the position at Gettysburg was a very strong one, having for its disadvantage that it might be easily turned, and leaving to him the responsibility

¹ *From Manassas to Appomattox*, p. 358.

whether the battle should be fought at Gettysburg, or at a place first selected by him," meaning Pipe Creek. About dark Hancock started for Meade's headquarters at Taneytown, fourteen miles distant. On his arrival, however, he found that Meade had already given orders for the corps in his rear to advance at once to Gettysburg, and was about to proceed there in person. Meade had made up his mind to accept Lee's challenge. In an order to Sedgwick, directing him to bring up his command by a forced march, he said: "A general battle seems to be impending to-morrow at Gettysburg. . . . We shall probably be largely outnumbered without your presence." All the corps of the Army of the Potomac not on the field at Gettysburg were ordered to hasten thither. Meade broke up his headquarters at Taneytown at ten P. M.

In a despatch to General Halleck, dated at six P. M. July 1st, Meade reported the situation as follows: "The First and Eleventh corps have been engaged all day. The Twelfth, Third, and Fifth have been moving up, and all, I hope, by this time are on the field. This leaves only the Sixth, which will move up to-night. . . . General Reynolds was killed this morning early in the action. I immediately sent up General Hancock to assume command. A. P. Hill and Ewell are certainly concentrating. Longstreet's whereabouts I do not know. If he

is not up to-morrow, I hope with the force I have concentrated to defeat Hill and Ewell. At any rate, I see no other course than to hazard a general battle. Circumstances during the night may alter this decision, of which I will try to advise you. I have telegraphed Couch that if he can threaten Ewell's rear from Harrisburg without endangering himself, to do so."¹ As to the actual condition of things in both armies at the time when this despatch was written, General Meade certainly had a very inadequate view. The difficulty of obtaining correct information was greater for General Lee,

¹ Professor M. Jacobs, connected with Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, and in Gettysburg at the time of the battle, in his *Notes on the Rebel Invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania and the Battle of Gettysburg*, Philadelphia, 1864, says (p. 28): "That portion of Rodes' division which lay down before our dwelling for the night was greatly elated with the results of the first day's battle. And the same may be said of the whole Rebel army. They were anxious to engage in conversation—to communicate their views and feelings, and to elicit ours. They were boastful of themselves, of their cause, and of the skill of their officers; and were anxious to tell us of the unskilful manner in which some of our officers had conducted the fight which had just closed. When informed that General Archer and fifteen hundred of his men had been captured, they said, 'To-morrow we will take all these back again: and having already taken five thousand (!) prisoners of you to-day, we will take the balance of your men to-morrow.' . . . Their confidence knew no bounds; they felt assured that they should be able, with perfect ease, to cut up our army in detail,—fatigued as it was by long marches and yet scattered, for only two corps had as yet arrived. Resting under this impression, they lay down joyfully on the night of the first day."

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however, than it was for General Meade, and the former was moving more blindly even than the latter.

CHAPTER III

GETTYSBURG. THE SECOND DAY

MEADE reached Gettysburg at one A.M., July 2d, and as soon as it was light he made an inspection of his lines. In this inspection he found the Eleventh Corps occupying Cemetery Hill. Schurz's division was across the Baltimore pike, with Steinwehr's on the left and Ames's on the right and rear. Wadsworth, of the First Corps, was on Ames's right. Robinson was on the left of Steinwehr, his line extending to Ziegler's Grove. As other troops came up in the morning they were assigned places in the line as follows: the Twelfth Corps at Culp's Hill on Wadsworth's right; the Second Corps along Cemetery Ridge; Hays and Gibbon's divisions, from Ziegler's Grove to the clump of trees; Caldwell's to the short ridge to its left and rear. The Third Corps was directed to extend Hancock's line, relieving Geary's division which during the night had held the extreme left of the line as far as Little Round Top. The Fifth Corps was placed in reserve in a central position near the Rock Creek crossing of the Baltimore



Little Round Top.



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Pike. The Sixth Corps, on its way from Manchester, did not reach the battle-ground until two P.M. The Fifth Corps was then moved to the extreme left of the Union line.

An early attack by Lee before Meade's concentration had taken place—the Second Corps and Sykes with two divisions of the Fifth Corps arrived on the field at seven A.M. also the remaining part of the Third Corps—was happily delayed. Lee, however, had not accepted Longstreet's suggestion to file around the Union left, and place himself between Meade's army and Washington. At an early hour—Longstreet was at Lee's headquarters while the stars were shining,¹ he says—Lee was busy with plans having reference to an attack on the Union lines. In his report of the battle, the Confederate commander says: "Encouraged by the successful issue of the engagement of the first day, and in view of the valuable results that would come from the defeat of the army of General Meade, it was thought advisable to renew the attack." The arrival of the remainder of Ewell's and Hill's commands, and two of Longstreet's

¹ The day that followed was a delightful summer day. Professor Jacobs says of it: "The morning was pleasant, the air was calm, the sun shone mildly through a smoky atmosphere, and the whole outer world was quiet and peaceful—there was nothing to foretoken the sanguinary struggle that was to close the day." *Notes, etc.*, p. 32.

divisions, gave Lee a strong, enthusiastic body of soldiery.

Meade had foreseen that Lee would be likely to renew the battle, and he gave instructions for an examination of the roads that would enable him to fall back on the proposed Pipe Creek line, if such a movement should be necessary—instructions which his chief-of-staff, General Butterfield, considered to have reference to a withdrawal of the army from Gettysburg without a battle at that place, a reference which Meade afterward denied. It is probable that Butterfield misunderstood these instructions. Certainly if Meade had in mind anything more than a possibility of a necessity for a withdrawal, he soon came to see that the battle must be fought then and there. Indeed with the arrival of the remaining portions of his army, General Meade was in a favorable position in which to await the development of Lee's plans.

In extending the Union line to the left, Sickles requested Meade's assistance in determining the position he should take. The ground assigned to him south of the Weikert house was low, and was commanded by the higher ground along the Emmittsburg road. In fact, it was this higher ground, extending to the Peach Orchard, which seemed to him the line to occupy. General Hunt, chief-of-artillery, examined the proposed line at



The Peach Orchard. (In the distance.)

the request of General Meade. He thought it had its disadvantages, especially because of the right angle in the line at the Peach Orchard; and when Sickles asked if he should move his corps forward to this line, Hunt, who says that tactically it was better than the short line to the Round Tops provided it were strongly occupied, replied to this request, "Not on my authority. I will report to General Meade for his instructions." Sickles made his dispositions along the line he had indicated, his left from the Peach Orchard being refused and running back to the Devil's Den; while Hunt, reporting to General Meade that he could not advise the occupation of the proposed line, suggested that Meade should examine the position for himself. A little later, seeing Meade and Sickles in conversation, Hunt supposed the latter had given his consent to the Peach Orchard line, and ordered up some of the reserve artillery; he also gave the general officers authority to call for it. While objecting to Sickles's line, Meade saw that it was too late to change it.¹ His own account of the position, in his report of the battle, is as follows:

¹ Longstreet, who confronted Sickles at the Peach Orchard, was one of those who believed that Sickles was right in placing his corps as he did. In a letter to Sickles written September 19, 1902, he said: "I believe it is now conceded that the advanced position at the Peach Orchard, taken by your corps and under your orders, saved that battle-field to the Union cause."

"About three P.M., I rode out to the extreme left to await the arrival of the Fifth Corps and to post it, when I found that Maj.-Gen. Sickles, commanding the Third Corps, not fully apprehending the instructions in regard to the position to be occupied, had advanced, or rather was in the act of advancing, his corps some half a mile or three fourths of a mile in front of the line of the Second Corps, on the prolongation of which it was designed his corps should rest. Having found Maj.-Gen. Sickles, I was explaining to him that he was too far in advance, and discussing with him the propriety of withdrawing, when the enemy opened on him with several batteries in his front and on his flank, and immediately brought forward columns of infantry and made a most vigorous assault. The Third Corps sustained the shock most heroically."¹

Lee's plan for July 2d, at Gettysburg, included a

¹ In his testimony before the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War in 1864, Sickles said: "General Meade . . . remarked to me that my line was too extended, and expressed his doubts as to my being able to hold so extended a line, in which I coincided in the main—that is to say, I replied that I could not with one corps hold so extended a line against the rebel army; but that, if supported, the line could be held; and in my judgment, it was a strong line, and the best one. I stated, however, that if he disapproved of it, it was not yet too late to take any position he might indicate. He said, 'No'; that it would be better to hold that line, and he would send up the Fifth Corps to support me. I expressed my belief in my ability to hold that line until supports could arrive."



Ricketts's Battery, East Cemetery Hill.

crushing blow on his right or left. Both extremities of his line were visited early in the day with the decision to make the assault from the right. The battle was to be opened by Longstreet with his fresh, heavy columns. Hill, in the centre, was to co-operate, and so also was Ewell on hearing Longstreet's guns. The point of attack selected by Lee was Sickles's position at the Peach Orchard. If the Union forces could be driven from that place, Lee believed that the vantage ground thus gained could be successfully used in an effort to reach the crest of the ridge beyond.

It is claimed by Long and other Confederate officers that Lee expected Longstreet to attack early in the morning of the 2d, and that he gave orders to that effect. But Longstreet says it was eleven o'clock in the forenoon when the orders were received. Lee's plan was for Longstreet to follow the direction of the Emmittsburg road, having the left of his line on the road, and for Hill to join in the movement as the Confederates pressed forward toward Cemetery Ridge. Some difficulty was experienced by Longstreet in getting his men into position for the attack so as not to be observed by the Union signal officers on Round Top; and it was not until half-past three in the afternoon, according to Longstreet himself, that the order for the advance was given. The general statement is that

the advance was not begun until four o'clock. At that hour valuable time for the Confederates had certainly been lost. As certainly valuable time for the Union forces had been gained. The rest of Meade's army had now reached the field.

In his report of the battle, Lee says: "After a severe struggle Longstreet succeeded in getting possession of and holding the desired ground." It was a severe struggle. Birney's division of the Third Corps bore the brunt of Longstreet's attack. For two hours the conflict was a desperate one on both sides. The Confederates made the attack covered by a cloud of skirmishers. Again and again Birney sent for reinforcements. His lines swayed to and fro while the battle raged, and his regiments were moved constantly on the double quick from one part of the line to another, in order to meet the furious onslaughts of the enemy. Birney held the Peach Orchard until nearly dusk, when he fell back to the next ridge. Sickles was severely wounded about six o'clock—one of his legs was shot away—and Birney succeeded to the command of the corps.

North of the Peach Orchard, Humphrey's division of the Second Corps held the line along the Emmitsburg road. Here about four o'clock, he was attacked by McLaws, and when at length the salient was broken the whole attention of the enemy at



Warren Statue on Little Round Top.

Overlooking the Valley of Death, the Wheatfield, and the Peach Orchard.

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this point being directed to him, he was compelled to fall back to the higher ground on the ridge. This was done in good order, but Humphrey's losses were heavy. "The fortune of war," he says "rarely places troops under more trying circumstances than those in which my division found itself on this day."

When Longstreet commenced his attack, the right of his line overlapped Sickles's front by two brigades, and these moved round so as to threaten Little Round Top. While the conflict was raging, Meade sent General Warren to the left for an examination of the ground. Reaching Little Round Top, he found it occupied as a Union signal station. There were no troops there. From that rocky hilltop, looking out over the field which the summit disclosed, Warren saw that the long line of woods on the west side of the Emmittsburg road furnished an opportunity for the enemy to form his lines out of sight. Soon he saw more—the glistening of gun-barrels and bayonets, marking a line of battle already formed and far outflanking the position of any of Meade's men. At once Warren sent a written request to General Meade to send at least a division to that point, which evidently was the key to the position. While Warren was there alone with the signal officer, musket-balls began to whistle about them, and then a whole line

of the enemy was seen advancing toward the hill. Seeing troops going out on the Peach Orchard road, Warren rode down the hill and found that the troops were those of his old brigade now commanded by Weed, who had already passed. Warren says: "I took the responsibility to detach Colonel O'Rorke, the head of whose regiment I struck, who, on hearing my few words of explanation about the position, moved at once to the hilltop. About this time First Lieutenant Charles E. Hazlett, of the Fifth Artillery, with his battery of rifled cannon arrived. He comprehended the situation instantly and planted a gun on the summit of the hill. . . . He stayed there until he was killed. I was wounded with a musket-ball while talking with Lieutenant Hazlett on the hill, but not seriously; and, seeing the position saved while the whole line to the right and front of us was yielding and melting away under the enemy's fire and advance, I left the hill to rejoin General Meade near the centre of the field, where a new crisis was at hand." ¹ Later, to this position came the rest of Weed's brigade and the brigade of Strong Vincent, and rolled back the onrushing columns which Longstreet was hurling against that rocky height. Weed was killed and Vincent was mortally wounded. It was on the left of the line, at this time, that the Twentieth

¹ *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 307.

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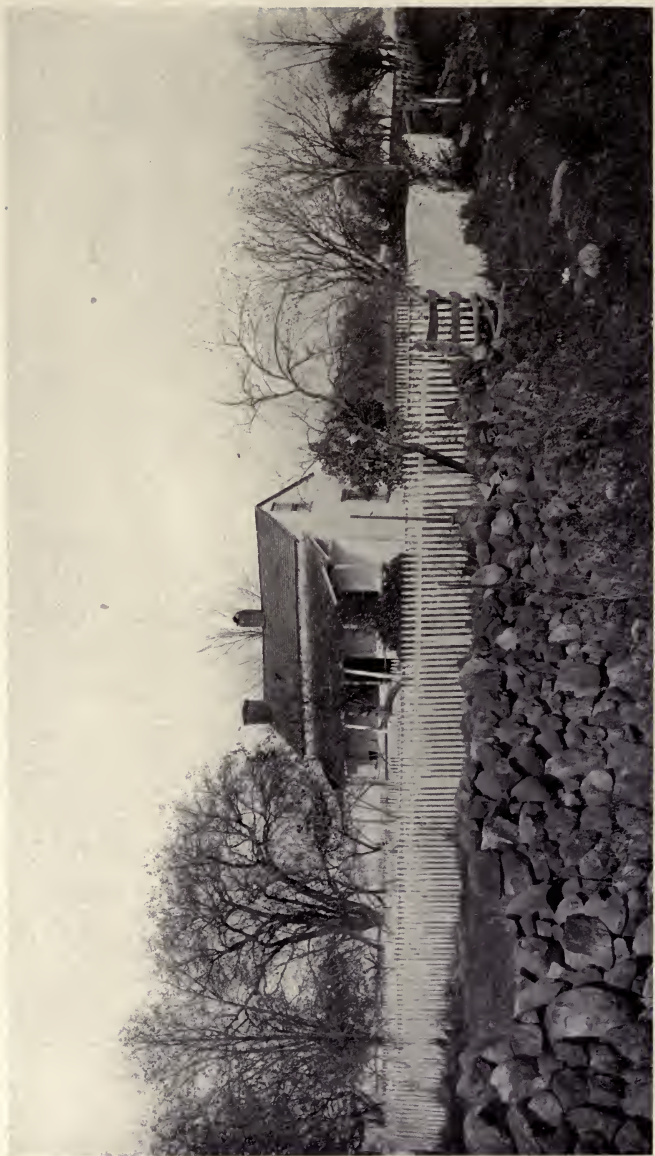
Maine, under Colonel J. L. Chamberlain, did such heroic service, repulsing the enemy and taking a large number of prisoners.

Longstreet claimed that in his attack on the left of the Union line he did not receive the help he expected from Hill, and especially from Ewell. His statement is this: "While Meade's lines were growing, my men were dropping; we had no others to call to their aid, and the weight against us was too heavy to carry. The extreme left of our line was only about a mile from us across the enemy's concentric position, which brought us within hearing of the battle, if engaged, and near enough to feel its swell, but nothing was heard or felt but the clear ring of the enemy's fresh metal as he came against us. No other part of our army had been engaged."

It should be said, however, that Hill supported Longstreet's advance with some of his right brigades. Ewell was late in throwing in his men. Early and Rodes were directed to attack Cemetery Hill, while Johnson was to give his attention to Culp's Hill. Early made a spirited attack, but unsupported by Rodes he was driven back with great loss; Johnson, however, succeeded in seizing a portion of the Union line on Culp's Hill, a part of the Twelfth Corps (the First Division and Lockwood's brigade, also two brigades of Geary's division)

having been withdrawn by Meade to reinforce his imperilled left and centre late in the day. The importance of the advantage gained in this movement, however, seems not to have been discovered by Ewell. At least he failed to avail himself of an opportunity to press his men forward so as to take possession of the Baltimore Pike, only a short distance away. Gregg's cavalry did efficient service in checking Johnson's victorious advance.

After the fighting of the day was over, General Meade summoned the corps commanders to his headquarters in council, in the little front room of the Leister house. There were present, besides the commanding general, Newton (who had been placed in command of the First Corps), Hancock, Birney, Sykes, Sedgwick, Howard, and Slocum, also Butterfield, chief-of-staff, Warren, chief-of-engineers, Williams, commanding the Twelfth Corps, and Gibbon of the Second. General Gibbon, in an account of the council, says that Newton expressed the opinion that "this was no place to fight a battle in." But the rest of the generals thought otherwise; and it was finally decided to correct the line then held, and await further attack. Howard said, "Wait attack until 4 P.M. on the 3d." Then if Lee did not attack, he advised attacking Lee. Hancock said that he would have the army remain and not attack unless communi-



General Meade's Headquarters.

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cations were cut. Sedgwick said that the army should await attack at least one day. Slocum would stay and fight it out at Gettysburg. Doubleday, in his account of the battle, says Meade was displeased with the result of the council. "Have it your own way, gentlemen," he said roughly, "but Gettysburg is no place to fight a battle in."¹

Longstreet's comment on the results of the day is this: "Our success of the first day had led us into battle on the second, and the battle on the second was to lead us into the terrible and hopeless slaughter on the third." Lee, referring to the successes of July 2d at Gettysburg, says, "These partial successes determined me to continue the assault next day."

The fighting of the day was over, but preparations for the renewal of the contest were at once begun on both the Union and Confederate lines. Meade strengthened his right, Big Round Top was made secure, and his whole line received careful attention. On the part of Lee's army, also, there was preparation for a more desperate struggle on the morrow. To its commander nothing seemed to promise greater hope of success than a renewal of the movement which he made on the 2d, and which he expected would pierce the Union line and roll it up in the triumphant advance of his enthusiastic battalions.

¹ *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg*, p. 184.

CHAPTER IV

GETTYSBURG. THE THIRD DAY

JULY 3d found the Union army well posted behind hastily constructed defences, awaiting the movements of the enemy in accordance with the decision of the Council of War. But Meade knew how much his opponents had at stake, and he was by no means confident as to the issue. At seven A.M. he sent a despatch to General French at Frederick, Md., in which he said that if the result of the operations of the day should cause Lee to fall back toward the Potomac, he was to occupy Harper's Ferry and annoy and harass him in his retreat. But he added: "If the result of the day's operations should be our discomfiture and withdrawal, you are to look to Washington, and throw your force there for its protection. You will be prepared for either of these contingencies should they arise."

When the men of the Twelfth Corps, who had been detached by Meade on the afternoon of the 2d to reinforce his imperilled left, returned about midnight to take their former position, they found

Johnson's division of Ewell's corps in possession. It was this state of things on his left that gave Meade anxiety; and he made preparations for dispossessing Johnson of the foothold he had obtained. During the night batteries were posted in favorable positions for aiding in the proposed movement, and the troops to make the attack were selected. But Ewell, also, made preparations which he hoped would enable him to maintain the lodgment he had secured. In the morning, accordingly, there was a sharp, severe struggle for the supremacy at that part of the line. Geary and Ruger were instructed to attack at daylight. In the struggle that followed both parties were persistent, but Ewell was unable to hold the ground he had secured.

At length, about eleven o'clock, finding that his men could not withstand the continued assaults of the Union forces, and discovering that a way of retreat might be cut off by troops on his flank, Ewell reluctantly abandoned the position, and fell back to Rock Creek, leaving the Union army in a strong, defensive line extending to the Round Tops.

Concerning his arrangements for the day, Lee, in his official report of the battle, says: "The general plan was unchanged. Longstreet, reinforced by Pickett's three brigades, which arrived near

the battle-field during the afternoon of the 2d, was ordered to attack the next morning." Longstreet, however, makes this comment on this part of Lee's report: "This is disingenuous. He did not give or send me orders for the morning of the third day, nor did he reinforce me by Pickett's brigades for morning attack."¹ In fact, Longstreet had been busy during the night in the endeavor, by means of scouting parties, to find a favorable opportunity for striking a blow on Meade's left, and was about to move his command for this purpose at sunrise when General Lee rode up to his headquarters with orders for the day, which included a charge upon Meade's left centre by troops from McLaws' and Hood's divisions of Longstreet's corps, reinforced by Pickett's division. Longstreet had serious objection to such a movement. "I thought," he says, "that it would not do; that the point had been fully tested the day before, by more men, when all were fresh; that the enemy was there looking for us, as we heard him during the night putting up his defences; that the divisions of McLaws and Hood were holding a mile along the right of my line against twenty thousand men, who would follow their withdrawal, strike the flank of the assaulting column, crush it, and get on our rear towards the Potomac

¹ *From Manassas to Appomattox*, p. 385.



River; that thirty thousand men was the minimum force necessary for the work; that even such force would need close co-operation on other parts of the line; that the column as he proposed to organize it would have only about thirteen thousand men (the divisions having lost a third of their number the day before); that the column would have to march a mile under concentrating battery fire, and a thousand yards under long range musketry; that the conditions were different from those in the days of Napoleon, when field batteries had a range of six hundred yards and musketry about sixty yards.”¹

Lee thought Longstreet overestimated the distance. He said it was not more than fourteen hundred yards. He consented, however, to Longstreet's view that the divisions of McLaws and Hood should remain on the defensive line, and said he would reinforce by divisions of the Third Corps and Pickett's brigades. He also gave directions with reference to the point to which the attack should be directed. When Longstreet returned to the suggestion that the force to be brought against the Union position was too small, Lee, Longstreet says, was “impatient of listening, and tired of talking, and nothing was left but to proceed.”²

¹ *From Manassas to Appomattox*, p. 386.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 386, 387,

Lee's principal reliance, in the attack, was upon Pickett's division of Longstreet's corps, composed of Virginia troops. Up to this time it had not been in action at Gettysburg. With it Lee proposed to use not only troops from the Third Corps, but also the cavalry under Stuart, which had reached the vicinity of Gettysburg on the preceding day, taking position on the York and Harrisburg roads. Stuart was to attack the Union line in the rear simultaneously with Pickett's assault in front—a large demand upon weary troopers as events proved.

The forenoon was spent in making preparations for the charge. This is Lee's own statement in his report of the battle: "The morning was occupied in necessary preparations." Longstreet calls attention to the fact that two thirds of the troops to be engaged in the charge belonged to other commands than his own, and that he had no control of them until they reached him.

Preparatory to this new attack upon the Union lines, the Confederate artillery was massed in favorable positions for effective service. In all, one hundred and thirty-eight guns were made ready to hurl a destructive fire into Meade's ranks. Of these seventy-five guns belonged to the First Corps. A. P. Hill had sixty-three guns on Seminary Ridge. In the middle of the day, aside from these prepara-

tions, all was quiet for the most part along the lines of both armies. It was not possible for Meade to mass his artillery to the same extent as Lee. On account of his contracted lines only seventy-seven guns were placed in position facing Lee's one hundred and thirty-eight, and they were in plain view of the enemy. But he had a large artillery reserve which could be brought into use.

At one o'clock in the afternoon two Confederate guns announced the opening of the artillery duel which was to precede the infantry charge. The chiefs-of-artillery and the battery commanders on the Union side had been instructed by Hunt to withhold their fire fifteen or twenty minutes after the Confederate guns opened; then to concentrate their aim with all possible accuracy on those batteries that were found to be most destructive. But they were to fire leisurely, so as not to exhaust their ammunition. Hunt had just given this order when the Confederate signal guns were fired, and Lee's artillery opened on the Union lines.

The scene from those lines was one of appalling grandeur. Hunt, in his description of it, says: "All their batteries were soon covered with smoke, through which the flashes were incessant; whilst the air seemed filled with shells, whose sharp explosions, with the hurtling of their fragments, formed a running accompaniment to the deep

roar of the guns.”¹ The larger number of cannon on the Confederate side were expected to do destructive work on the shorter line held by Meade, but their missiles passed over and beyond the ridge occupied by the Union troops, making the rear more dangerous than the front. Longstreet says that while the Confederates had the benefit of the converging fire upon Meade’s massed force, yet the superior metal of the Union batteries neutralized the advantage of the position. For an hour and a half nearly, this terrific bombardment was continued. Then, finding his ammunition running low, Hunt sought Meade to obtain permission to cease firing in order to cool his guns and to save ammunition for use in the effort to repulse the charge which was sure to follow. Not finding Meade, but presenting the matter to Howard who concurred in his view, Hunt gave the order to cease firing.

From this cessation of firing on the part of the Union guns, the inference was drawn within the Confederate lines that Meade’s artillery had been silenced,—a mistake that was soon recognized. Hunt’s crippled batteries were quickly replaced, all available positions for artillery being occupied.

The Confederate infantry line, awaiting the order to advance, consisted of Pickett’s division,

¹ *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 372.

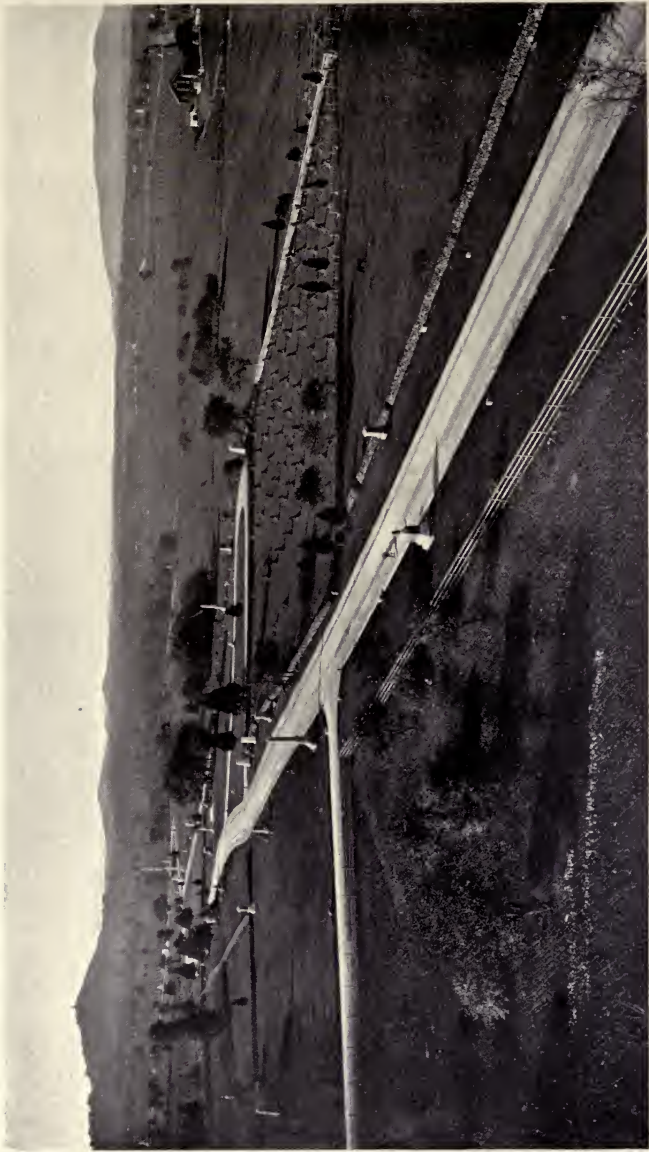
with Kemper's and Garnett's brigades in front, and Armistead's brigade in support. Wilcox's brigade of Hill's corps in echelon guarded Pickett's right, while Pettigrew's division did the same service on Pickett's left, supported by the brigades of Scales and Lane commanded by Trimble.¹ When Pickett came to Longstreet and placed in his hands a slip of paper on which Alexander, Longstreet's chief-of-artillery, had called for an immediate advance on the part of the Confederate infantry line, and added, "General, shall I advance?" Longstreet says the effort to speak the order—an order whose direful consequences he clearly foresaw—wholly failed upon his lips, and he indicated his assent only by an affirmative bow. Pickett "accepted the duty with seeming confidence of success, leaped on his horse, and rode gaily to his command."²

Pickett's lines were soon in motion. The smoke of Lee's guns no longer overhung the field. All was in view from the Union position as the Confederates emerged from the cover where they had awaited the fateful hour. Pickett had explained to

¹ To call the charge "Pickett's charge" is to ignore the services performed by other Confederate organizations which had a part in this famous movement upon the Union lines; but the popular designation is the one in common use, and the only one that would be generally recognized.

² Longstreet's *From Manassas to Appomattox*, p. 392.

his men the nature of the work demanded of them, and as they moved solidly, resolutely down the slope into the open fields through which they were to pass on their way to the Union lines, all that the movement meant to the Confederate cause was clearly understood. The sight was one which no beholder could ever forget. It elicited, as the Comte de Paris says, "a cry of admiration both from enemies and friends." Pickett's division comprised nearly five thousand men; but this was only a small part of the force that had been placed under Longstreet's command in this assault. The supporting columns numbered about nine thousand men. The direction of the column, as given by Lee, was toward a clump of trees on the crest of the ridge extending from Cemetery Hill toward Little Round Top. This was the line held by the Second Corps under Hancock. Upon Gibbon's division of that corps the brunt of the assault was to fall. Meade's artillery opened on the advancing columns almost as soon as they were in view. At first solid shot was used, then shell, while canister was reserved for the closer approach. Any less determined foe would have quailed under the galling fire. But, in the advance, the lines were kept closed up, and a solid front was quite well maintained until the Emmittsburg road was reached. As the separate brigade lines now swept



Scene of Pickett's Charge. (Meade Statue at the extreme left centre.)

across the road, they lost their formation, and carried with them the skirmish line as they urged their way onward. Pettigrew's command with its supports, on Pickett's left, had been put in motion with the Virginians, but earlier in the conflict they had suffered severely, and naturally did not press forward with the same ardor as Pickett's men who had not before been in action at Gettysburg.

Wilcox's brigade, on Pickett's right, advanced in the same general direction for awhile, but when at length Pickett changed his course, moving obliquely, Wilcox advanced still straight to the front, leaving Pickett's flank uncovered as the interval between them increased.

Behind a low stone wall the men of Gibbon's division of the Second Corps awaited the approach of the Confederates until they were about three hundred yards distant, and then opened an effective fire. It was not now a line of battle that was approaching, but a confused mass into which deadly volleys of canister were hurled by the Union artillery. Pettigrew's division was overwhelmed. Those who could made their way back, while two thousand prisoners and fifteen stands of colors fell into Meade's hands.

Pickett's men, however, or rather those of his command still fronting the Union lines, continued resolutely and unwaveringly to move up the

slope, their numbers continually growing less. Garnett fell when about one hundred yards from the Union lines. Awaiting the favorable opportunity, down upon Pickett's flank came Stannard with his Vermont brigade, delivering a fire more demoralizing than that from the front. The struggle now was soon at close quarters, as that confused mass of Confederates pushed its way over the low stone wall, pierced the Union line, but was unable to maintain its foothold. Armistead, leading about one hundred of his men—forty-two of the number were slain—fell inside of the Union defences, by the side of one of the guns upon which he had laid his hand; but it was defeat, not victory. Pickett saw that it was useless to remain on the ridge which he had reached, and succeeded, with a part of his force, in reaching the Confederate lines. Of his entire division men enough only were left to make a full-sized regiment. The rest were lying upon the fields over which they had passed, and were dead or wounded, or they were prisoners within the Union lines. "Out of eighteen field-officers and four generals in the division, Pickett and one lieutenant-colonel alone remain unharmed." ¹

¹ Lt.-Col. Fremantle, of the British army, who was with the Confederates as a guest, has a vivid picture of the battle in his *Three Months in the Southern States*, published in 1864. He had sought a commanding position in which he could see

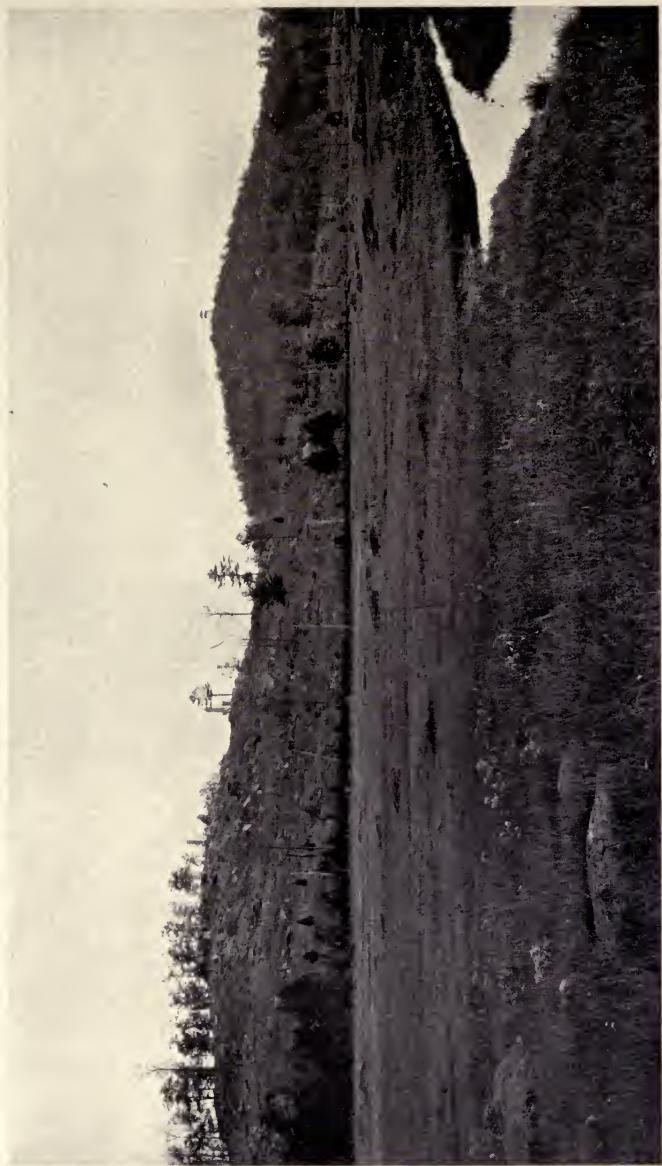
Longstreet says Lee came up as the remnants of the attacking forces found their way back. He spoke to them encouraging words, requesting them to re-form their ranks, adding, "It was all my fault; get together, and let us do the best we can toward saving that which is left us."¹

Within the Union lines the joy of victory was unbounded. But all might not have gone as well with the Union army had Stuart, with his cavalry, succeeded, as Lee had planned, in reaching Meade's rear at the time of the charge made from Long-

the battle without exposure to the tremendous fire that characterized it; but finally concluded to make his way to General Longstreet. He met wounded men in large numbers. "They were still under a heavy fire; the shells were continually bringing down great limbs of trees, and carrying further destruction amongst this melancholy procession. I saw all this in much less time than it takes to write it, and although astonished to meet such vast numbers of wounded, I had not seen *enough* to give me any idea of the real extent of the mischief." In illustrating this last statement he adds: "When I got close up to General Longstreet, I saw one of his regiments advancing through the woods in good order; so, thinking I was just in time to see the attack, I remarked to the General that 'I would n't have missed this for anything.' Longstreet was seated at the top of a snake fence at the edge of the wood, and looking perfectly calm and unperturbed. He replied, laughing, 'you would n't! I would like to have missed it very much; we 've attacked and been repulsed; look there!'" Lt.-Col. Fremantle looked in the direction indicated and saw the fields "covered with Confederates slowly and sulkily returning." A little later he met General Lee. "This has been a sad day for us, Colonel," he said "a sad day; but we can't expect always to gain victories."

¹ *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 347.

street's front. In the morning of July 3d,—Stuart reached the vicinity of Gettysburg only the day before,—the cavalry had taken position on the Confederate left with the purpose of aiding in the proposed assault by Pickett and the other forces under Longstreet's orders. Stuart's position was a most favorable one for such a movement. "The whole country for miles in front of him, clear up to Cemetery Hill and the Round Tops, lay at his feet. In his rear a cross-country road branches off from the York turnpike about two and a half miles from Gettysburg, and, crossing over the high ground mentioned by Stuart [in his report], runs in a southeasterly direction toward the Low Dutch Road, which connects the York and Baltimore turnpikes. This high ground is divided south of the cross-road by the upper valley of Cress Run, forming two ridges, that west of the Run being known as Brinkerhoff's Ridge, and that east of it as Cress Ridge. A piece of woods crowns the easterly side of the ridge on the southerly side of the cross-road, affording protection and cover to the supports of the battery which was subsequently placed there. Screened by this and another piece of woods on the opposite side of the cross-road is a large open space on the Stallsmith farm, where the Confederate leader was enabled to mass



Little and Big Round Tops.

and manœuvre his command unobserved by his opponents." ¹

The Union cavalry guarding Meade's right consisted of McIntosh's (three regiments) and Irvin Gregg's brigade of Gregg's division and Custer's Michigan brigade of Kilpatrick's division, in all about five thousand men. The position occupied by Gregg's force had none of the advantages of that which Stuart held. Moreover, Stuart had with him between six and seven thousand men.

About one o'clock in the afternoon, Custer, who had been ordered to join Kilpatrick at the Round Tops, had commenced his march toward the Union left, when McIntosh reported to Gregg the presence of the enemy and asked for support. Gregg accordingly ordered Custer to remain until he could bring up his third brigade. There was some skirmishing on the part of the enemy, dismounted troopers of W. H. F. Lee's brigade supporting the skirmishers, and then, emerging from the woods behind which his men had been concealed, Stuart's columns suddenly appeared, and moving rapidly down the slope into the broad, open field, with sabres drawn, colors waving, they aimed to sweep all before them. They were the brigades of Wade Hampton and Fitz Lee. But they found Gregg

¹ *Gregg's Cavalry Fight at Gettysburg*, by Brvt.-Lieut.-Col. William Brooke-Rawle, pp. 13, 14.

ready to receive them. At once, with the shoutings of the assailants, there were the clashing of sabres, and the sharp crack of small arms. It was a close, hand-to-hand fight. The Confederates at length began to give way, the Union cavalry pressing upon them closer and closer, and the movement, in falling back, became a rout. In a word, Stuart was driven from the field into the woods from which he came, maintaining in its front, however, a line of skirmishers, from which for a while he kept up a brisk firing. But the fighting for the day was over. Stuart's attempt to reach the rear of Meade's army at the time of Pickett's charge had utterly failed. In his report of this fight, Stuart claimed to have driven the Union cavalry from the field, but he made mention of no corresponding results. He summed up the work of the day in these words: "During this day's operations, I held such a position as not only to render Ewell's left entirely secure, where the firing of my command, mistaken for that of the enemy, caused some apprehension, but commanded a view of the routes leading to the enemy's rear. Had the enemy's main body [in Pickett's charge] been dislodged, as was confidently hoped and expected, I was in precisely the right position to discover it and improve the opportunity. I watched keenly and anxiously the indications in

the rear for that purpose, while in the attack which I intended (which was forestalled by our troops being exposed to view), his cavalry would have separated from the main body, and gave promise of solid results and advantages."¹

It was certainly a great day for Gregg and those who fought under him. The scene of this cavalry battle is too much neglected by visitors to the Gettysburg battlefield. Custer, in his report, did not put the case any too strongly when he said: "I challenge the annals of warfare to produce a more brilliant or successful charge of cavalry than the one just recounted."

The battle of Gettysburg closed with another cavalry fight on the left of the Union position, and in front of Big Round Top. Kilpatrick, who had been ordered to press the enemy at that point, thought he saw a favorable opportunity, and ordered Farnsworth, one of his brigade commanders, to charge the Confederate right. Farnsworth, who had been made a brigadier-general on the eve of the battle in recognition of conspicuous gallantry, did not approve of the charge, and remonstrated with Kilpatrick, in the desire to spare his men. "If you order the charge I shall make it" he said, "but you must take the responsibility."

¹*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, serial No. 44, p. 699.

The Battle

Kilpatrick replied that he would take the responsibility, and Farnsworth made the charge. It was boldly, heroically executed, but with considerable loss. Farnsworth was killed, and so were many of his brave troopers. The Confederates received a scare, but no advantage was derived from it by Meade, and the day without the charge would have come to a far more satisfactory end.

At the close of Pickett's failure, the Confederates anticipated an attack by Meade upon their lines. Longstreet says: "When this [Pickett's] charge failed, I expected that, of course, the enemy would throw himself against our shattered ranks and try to crush us. I sent my staff officers to the rear to assist in rallying the troops, and hurried to our line of batteries as the only support that I could give them. . . For unaccountable reasons the enemy did not pursue his advantage." "By all the rules of warfare," says General Trimble, who commanded a division of Hill's corps in support of Pickett, "the Federal troops should (as I expected they would) have marched against our shattered columns and sought to cover our army with an overwhelming defeat."¹ But

¹ Doubleday's *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg*, pp. 206, 207. In his *Notes*, p. 44, Professor Jacobs says: "At that time the enemy began to exhibit signs of uneasiness and fear. They gathered up the wounded and sent them to the rear as fast as possible. They now feared that our men would make

evidently Meade did not wish to imperil in any way the good accomplished in repulsing Lee's assault upon his lines. Nor did he show any purpose to renew the conflict.

The losses of the Army of Northern Virginia at Gettysburg were 2592 killed, 12,709 wounded, and 5150 missing; total 20,451. The losses of the Army of the Potomac were 3072 killed, 14,497 wounded, and 5434 missing; total 23,003. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Confederate returns were incomplete. Hunt says: "Some commands are not reported, and in others the regimental returns show larger losses than do the brigade returns from which the foregoing numbers are compiled."¹ Meade reported the capture of 13,621 prisoners, and Lee about 4000. Lee's entire force on the Gettysburg battlefield was about 78,000 men, while Meade had about 92,000 or 94,000 men.²

Meade's position at Gettysburg gave him a dash upon them, a thing for which they evidently had no very great relish. They said to us, 'The Yankees intend, this evening, to charge upon us in the streets ; and when asked upon what authority they spoke, they only answered that they knew that such was to be the case, being evidently influenced by their fears. Apprehensive of such a result, they took a hasty supper, and, about midnight, formed in two ranks, and were under arms, as if awaiting a charge.'

¹ *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, vol. iii, p. 384.

² Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln*, vol. vii, p. 279, note.

great advantage. His line was a comparatively short one, easily defensible, and easily reinforced at any part. The cause of the Confederate defeat has been attributed by some of Lee's officers to Longstreet's disobedience of orders. It should be remembered, however, that this charge was not made during Lee's lifetime. On the contrary, too, it has been clearly shown that throughout the three days of conflict Longstreet obeyed strictly all of Lee's orders, and received then and thereafter Lee's approval of his conduct.¹

As has already been stated, Longstreet believed that an attack upon Meade's position at Gettysburg would be unwise, and at variance with a distinct understanding at the commencement of the campaign that use should be made of defensive tactics only. Accordingly, when Lee proposed to attack Meade in his defences at Gettysburg Longstreet strongly advised against any such movement; but he was not disobedient. It may seem strange that Lee with his knowledge of Longstreet's utter lack of faith in Pickett's charge should have left its direction in his hands. But Lee himself gave the orders for the attack, and was upon the field when the charge was made. It was not only executed under his eye,

¹ General E. P. Alexander in *The American Historical Review*, for July, 1905, pp. 903, 904.

but it was within his power to make up for any deficiencies that were discoverable. Longstreet indicates his own view of his relation to the events of the third day at Gettysburg in these words: "That day at Gettysburg was one of the saddest of my life. I foresaw what my men would meet, and would gladly have given up my position rather than share in the responsibilities of that day." ¹

¹ *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, vol. iii., p. 345.

CHAPTER V

THE RETREAT

IN three days Lee had exhausted the strength of his army to such an extent that retreat became necessary. The Confederate commander did not hasten his steps, however. Withdrawing what remained of his shattered battalions to a defensive position on Seminary Ridge—all the troops had been withdrawn from the town and other parts of the line and placed in the rear of that ridge by 3 A.M.—he awaited an expected offensive movement on the part of Meade. But Meade at first seems not to have comprehended the magnitude of the victory he had won. At 4.15 P.M. July 4th, however, in a congratulatory address to the Army of the Potomac, Meade made mention of “the glorious result of the recent operations,” the enemy having “now withdrawn from the contest.” At 8.35 P.M. in a despatch to General Halleck, he reported that the enemy had been “handsomely repulsed.” There were indications leading to the belief that Lee might be withdrawing. At 10 P.M. he telegraphed to General Halleck: “I make a



Hancock Statue.

reconnaissance to-morrow, to ascertain what the intention of the enemy is."

But among Meade's subordinates there were those who had urged, immediately after the enemy was "handsomely repulsed" on the afternoon of the 3d, an immediate offensive movement. Pleasanton says that while with Meade on Little Round Top after the failure of Pickett's charge, he urged a general advance of the whole army. Hancock, that afternoon, as he was carried from the field severely wounded, dictated from his stretcher a note to Meade urging him to pursue the broken enemy. Later, in his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, he said: "There were only two divisions of the enemy on our extreme left opposite Round Top, and there was a gap in their line of one mile that their assault had left; and I believe, if our whole line had advanced with spirit it is not unlikely that we would have taken all their artillery at that point."

But, as has been said already, Meade did not deem it prudent to hazard in any way the advantage he had secured; and in this he was sustained by many of his prominent officers.

Although Lee remained in his defensive position on Seminary Ridge throughout the 4th, orders for the retreat were given before noon, and in a rain-storm, which began during the day, his army

trains were set in motion by the Chambersburg and Fairfield roads. At nightfall, what was left of Lee's army was to follow—the Second Corps as rear-guard, the First to follow the Third and push on to secure the crossings of the Potomac at Williamsport and Falling Waters.¹ It was daylight on the 5th, however, before the road was open for the march of the First Corps, and a little later hour of the morning before the Second Corps could follow.²

In his address to the Army of the Potomac at 4.15 P.M., July 4th, General Meade said: "Our task is not yet accomplished, and the commanding general looks to the army for greater efforts to drive from our soil every vestige of the presence of the invader." President Lincoln, on reading these words, disappointed because Meade had not followed up his great victory on the 3d, with a prompt movement against Lee's defeated army, remarked, "This is a dreadful reminiscence of McClellan; it is the same spirit that moved him to claim a great victory because Pennsylvania and Maryland are safe. Will our generals never get

¹ Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox*, p. 426.

² In his *Notes*, p. 46, Professor Jacobs says: "As Sunday dawned upon us, only a few Rebel pickets remained in this region of country, unless we except the multitudes of stragglers from his army, and a larger number of his wounded, which were literally emptied out of his wagons into farm-houses and barns in his hasty retreat."

that idea out of their heads? The whole country is our soil." ¹

Early in the morning of July 5th, Meade discovered that Lee had withdrawn. In a despatch to Halleck at 8.30 A.M., he said: "The enemy retired under cover of the night and heavy rain in the direction of Fairfield and Cashtown. All my available cavalry are in pursuit on the enemy's flank and rear. My movement will be made at once on his flank, *via* Middletown and South Mountain Pass."

Meade not only sent out his cavalry, but ordered the Sixth Corps, under Sedgwick, to move toward Fairfield. Sedgwick's report indicated a large force of the enemy in the mountains, and Meade in consequence suspended the movement of the army to Middletown until he could be certain that the enemy was evacuating the Cumberland valley.

At 9.20 P. M., July 6th, while still at Gettysburg, Meade announced to General Halleck that he had resumed the southward movement, and expected to assemble his army at Middletown by the night of July 7th. "If I can get the Army of the Potomac in hand in the valley, and the enemy have not crossed the river, I shall give him battle," he said; but the sentence concluded as follows,

¹ Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln*, vol. vii., p. 278.

“trusting, should misfortune overtake me, that a sufficient number of my force, in connection with what you have in Washington would reach that place so as to render it secure.” This certainly was not inspiring. “Misfortune” was not what the President was expecting, and he did not see why General Meade should make mention of it as a possibility. On the very day Meade sent this despatch to Halleck, the latter not only informed Meade that he had been appointed a brigadier-general in the regular army, his commission to bear the date of July 3d, the date of his “brilliant victory at Gettysburg,” but he sent to him a note which he had received from the President as follows: “We have certain information that Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant on the 4th of July. Now if General Meade can complete his work so gloriously prosecuted thus far by the literal or substantial destruction of Lee’s army, the Rebellion will be over.”

Notwithstanding the bad condition of the roads, Lee reached the Potomac on the 6th and 7th of July. He could not cross, however, as the river was greatly swollen on account of the recent heavy rains. While waiting for the waters to fall, and also for the construction of a bridge, Lee took up a defensive position.

The proddings Meade received from Washington

with reference to the pursuit of Lee were not in any way pleasing. In his despatch to Halleck July 8th, he said: "I expect to find the enemy in a strong position, well covered with artillery, and I do not desire to imitate his example at Gettysburg and assault a position where the chances were so greatly against success. I wish in advance to moderate the expectations of those who, in ignorance of the difficulties to be encountered, may expect too much. All that I can do under the circumstances I pledge this army to do." On that day there was a report that Lee was recrossing the Potomac at Williamsport, and Halleck informed Meade that the President was urgent and anxious that he should move against the retreating army by forced marches. To this Meade replied that his information as to Lee's crossing did not agree with that the President had received, and he added: "My army is and has been making forced marches, short of rations and barefooted. One corps marched yesterday and last night over thirty miles. I take occasion to repeat that I will use my utmost efforts to push forward this army." To this General Halleck made reply on the same day: "Do not understand me as expressing any dissatisfaction; on the contrary, your army has done most nobly. I only wish to give you opinions formed from information here. . . . My only

fear now is that the enemy may escape by crossing the river."

Meade arrived in Lee's front July 10th. Advancing cautiously, he announced to General Halleck at 4.30 P. M., July 12th, "It is my intention to attack them to-morrow, unless something intervenes to prevent it." Something did happen. On the following day, July 13th, Meade informed General Halleck that having called his corps commanders together, and submitted to them his proposition to attack the enemy, five out of six were unqualifiedly opposed to it. "Under these circumstances," he continued, "in view of the momentous consequences attendant upon a failure to succeed, I did not feel myself authorized to attack until after I had made more careful examination of the enemy's position, strength, and defensive works."

Halleck's reply, sent at 9.30 P.M., gave expression to the President's disappointment: "Yours of 5 P.M. is received. You are strong enough to attack and defeat the enemy before he can effect a crossing. Act upon your own judgment and make your generals execute your orders. Call no council of war. It is proverbial that councils of war never fight. Reinforcements are pushed on as rapidly as possible. Do not let the enemy escape."

What Mr. Lincoln feared all along, it might almost be said what he anticipated, came to pass. At 11 A. M., on July 14th, Meade telegraphed to General Halleck: "On advancing my army this morning, with a view of ascertaining the exact position of the enemy and attacking him if the result of the examination should justify me, I found, on reaching his lines, that they were evacuated." Halleck gave expression to the President's added dissatisfaction in a despatch dated 1 P. M.: "I need hardly say to you that the escape of Lee's army without another battle has created great dissatisfaction in the mind of the President, and it will require an active and energetic pursuit on your part to remove the impression that it has not been sufficiently active heretofore." These words Meade promptly resented. The fact is that at a council of war Meade favored an attack, but was overborne by his corps commanders. French, Sedgwick, and Slocum were especially strenuous in their opposition to an attack. Meade responded to Halleck's communication in these words: "Having performed my duty conscientiously and to the best of my ability, the censure of the President conveyed in your despatch of one P. M. this day, is, in my judgment, so undeserved that I feel compelled most respectfully to ask to be immediately relieved from the command of the army."

General Halleck hastened an hour later to reply, saying that the disappointment of the President at the escape of Lee's army was not intended as a censure, but as a stimulus to an active pursuit, and that the incident was not deemed a sufficient cause for Meade's application to be relieved. Something might yet be done even if the golden opportunity had been lost. Mr. Lincoln, however, did not attempt to conceal his disappointment. "We had gone through all the labor of tilling and planting an enormous crop," he said, "and when it was ripe we did not harvest it." But the President did not withhold words of praise for what had been accomplished. "I am very grateful to Meade for the great service he did at Gettysburg," he added, and he continued to give him his full confidence as a brave and skilful officer. His thoughts, however, he committed to paper in the following letter¹ addressed to General Meade. This letter was neither signed nor sent, the President withholding it evidently lest it should still further wound the feelings of an officer who, notwithstanding his failings, deserved well of his country for services faithfully rendered. This is the letter:

"I have just seen your despatch to General Halleck, asking to be relieved of your command because of a supposed censure of mine. I am very, very grateful to you for the magnificent success

you gave the cause of the country at Gettysburg; and I am sorry now to be the author of the slightest pain to you. But I was in such deep distress myself that I could not restrain some expression of it. I have been oppressed nearly ever since the battles at Gettysburg by what appeared to be evidences that yourself and General Couch and General Smith were not seeking a collision with the enemy, but were trying to get him across the river without another battle. What these evidences were, if you please, I hope to tell you at some time when we both shall feel better. The case, summarily stated, is this: You fought and beat the enemy at Gettysburg; and, of course, to say the least, his loss was as great as yours. He retreated, and you did not, as it seemed to me, pressingly pursue him; but a flood in the river detained him till, by slow degrees, you were again upon him. You had at least twenty thousand veteran troops directly with you, and as many more raw ones within supporting distance, all in addition to those who fought with you at Gettysburg; while it was not possible that he had received a single recruit; and yet you stood and let the flood run down, bridges be built, and the enemy move away at his leisure without attacking him. And Couch and Smith—the latter left Carlisle in time, upon all ordinary calculation, to have aided you in the last battle at

Gettysburg, but he did not arrive. At the end of more than ten days, I believe twelve, under constant urging he reached Hagerstown from Carlisle, which is not an inch over fifty-five miles, if so much, and Couch's movement was very little different.

"Again, my dear general, I do not believe you appreciate the magnitude of the misfortune involved in Lee's escape. He was within your easy grasp, and to have closed upon him would, in connection with our other late successes, have ended the war. As it is, the war will be prolonged indefinitely. If you could not safely attack Lee last Monday, how can you possibly do so south of the river, when you can take with you very few more than two thirds of the force you then had in hand? It would be unreasonable to expect and I do not expect that you can now effect much. Your golden opportunity is gone, and I am distressed immeasurably because of it.

"I beg you will not consider this a prosecution or persecution of yourself. As you had learned that I was dissatisfied, I have thought it best to kindly tell you why."¹

But Lee and his army, also the Confederates generally, had their disappointments as well as

¹ Nicolay and Hay's *Abraham Lincoln*, vol. vii., pp. 280, 281.

Mr. Lincoln; indeed they were even greater. The Army of Northern Virginia crossed the Potomac on its way northward with the fullest confidence in the success of the movement. Officers and men alike expected speedy and complete victory, and instead they suffered a humiliating defeat. At Gettysburg they not only had lost a great battle at a fearful cost of life, but they had witnessed the destruction of fondly cherished hopes. These hopes included the defeat of the Army of the Potomac, the capture of Washington, and the permanence of the Confederacy. It was a strong, solid, enthusiastic body of veterans that Lee led across the Potomac. Only decimated ranks returned. The high-water mark of the Rebellion had been reached. The contest was not abandoned, but Lee was never again at the head of an army of equal strength, and never again did he set his columns in motion and enter into the conflict with such high hopes of a successful issue as when he approached Gettysburg and threw down the gage of battle.

PART II
THE CEMETERY

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THE CEMETERY

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN OF THE NATIONAL CEMETERY

SHORTLY after the battle of Gettysburg was fought, the Hon. Andrew G. Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania, visited the battle-field bringing relief to the sick and wounded soldiers, who remained in the various hospitals in and around the town. When he left Gettysburg, he made David Wills, Esq., his representative in such further ministrations as it would be possible for the State to render. Mr. Wills was not only a resident of Gettysburg and a true-hearted patriot, but a man of great executive ability. In his frequent visits to different parts of the battle-field, he had found places where the dead had been so hastily buried as to be only partially covered. Some of the graves were unmarked, or, if marked, the letters on the headboards had already become partly obliterated. The scenes thus witnessed suggested to Mr. Wills the thought of bringing

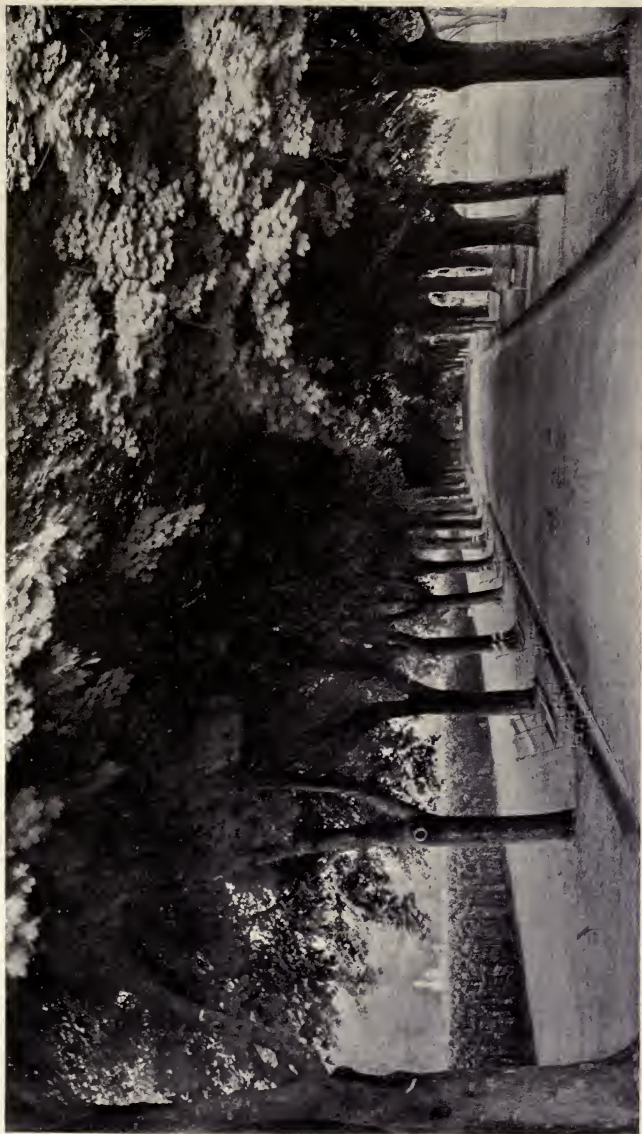
together in a national cemetery the scattered remains of these dead heroes; and on July 24, 1863, he wrote to Governor Curtin submitting a plan for the establishment of such a cemetery. This plan received the hearty approval of Governor Curtin; and at his request Mr. Wills entered into correspondence with the governors of other States, whose soldiers were engaged in the battle at Gettysburg.

On August 17th, Mr. Wills wrote to Governor Curtin as follows: "By virtue of the authority reposed in me by your excellency, I have invited the co-operation of the several States having soldier-dead on the battle-field around this place, in the noble project of removing their remains from their present exposed and imperfectly buried condition, on the fields for miles around, to a Cemetery.

"The chief executives of fifteen out of the seventeen States have already responded, in most instances pledging their States to unite in the movement; in a few instances highly approving of the project, and stipulating to urge upon their legislatures to make appropriations to defray their proportionate share of expense.

"I have also, at your request, selected and purchased ¹ grounds for this cemetery, the land to be

¹ The cost was \$2475. 87.



Main Avenue, National Cemetery.

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paid for by, and the title to be made to, the State of Pennsylvania, and to be held in perpetuity, devoted to the object for which purchased.

“The grounds embrace about seventeen acres on Cemetery Hill, fronting on the Baltimore turnpike, and extending to the Taneytown road. It is the ground which formed the apex of our triangular line of battle, and the key to our line of defences. It embraces the highest point on Cemetery Hill, and overlooks the whole battle-field. It is the spot which should be specially consecrated to this sacred purpose. It was here that such immense quantities of our artillery were massed, and during Thursday and Friday of the battle, from this most important point on the field, dealt out death and destruction to the rebel army in every direction of their advance.

“I have been in conference, at different times, with agents sent here by the governors of several of the States, and we have arranged details for carrying out this sacred work. I herewith inclose you a copy of the proposed arrangement of details, a copy of which I have also sent to the chief executive of each State having dead here.

“I have also, at your suggestion, cordially tendered to each State the privilege, if they desire, of joining in the title to the land.

“I think it would be showing only a proper

respect for the health of this community not to commence exhuming the dead, and removal to the cemetery, until the month of November; and in the meantime the grounds should be artistically laid out, and consecrated by appropriate ceremonies."

Governor Curtin, in a letter to Mr. Wills, dated August 21st, expressed his satisfaction with the details of the plan suggested, but added: "It is of course probable that our sister States, joining with us in this hallowed undertaking, may desire to make some alterations and modifications of your proposed plan of purchasing and managing these sacred grounds, and it is my wish that you give to their views the most careful and respectful consideration. Pennsylvania will be so highly honored by the possession within her limits of this soldier's mausoleum, and so much distinguished among the other States by their contributions in aid of so glorious a monument to patriotism and humanity, that it becomes her duty, as it is her melancholy pleasure, to yield in every reasonable way to the wishes and suggestions of the States, which join with her in dedicating a portion of her territory to the solemn uses of a national sepulchre."¹

The cemetery grounds were plotted and laid out by Mr. William Saunders, a landscape gardener of

¹ In the *Report of the Joint Special Committee of the City of Boston* (Boston, 1863, p. 12) we have this statement: "A number of different schemes were suggested, and especially

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Germantown, Pennsylvania. Lots were laid off for each loyal State whose soldiers fell in the battle of Gettysburg, the largest space being given to the State of New York, and the next largest to the State of Pennsylvania. In the semicircular arrangement of the lots, the other States represented by the dead were Illinois, Virginia, Delaware, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Minnesota, Maryland, Maine, Michigan, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Indiana. Lots also were provided for the unknown dead, and for those of the United States Regulars. Each lot was laid off in sections, with a space of four feet for a walk between each section. Two feet of space were allotted to each grave, and the bodies were laid with the heads toward the centre of the semicircle. At the head of the graves a stone wall was placed as a foundation for the headstones along the whole length of each section, and on these headstones were inscribed the name, company, and regiment of the deceased, if known. The removals and

one, which was strongly urged by Mr. Wills,—who several times informed the Committee that he was supported therein by the governors of several of the States, viz:— that the burials should not be by States, but promiscuously. Correspondence on this subject was carried on for several weeks, the Committee persistently and strenuously advocating separate State lots, and they finally had the satisfaction of learning that the grounds would be laid out according to their idea of propriety.”

burials were made under competent supervision, and with the greatest care. The authorities of the city of Boston, in concert with the Governor of Massachusetts, sent efficient representatives to the battle-field, who made the removals of the Massachusetts dead. The other States entrusted the arrangements for the removal of their dead to Mr. Wills.

CHAPTER II

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CONSECRATION OF THE CEMETERY

MR. Wills's suggestion to Governor Curtin, in his letter of August 17th, that the cemetery should be "consecrated by appropriate ceremonies," met with the governor's approval. The arrangements for these ceremonies were made by Mr. Wills, at the request of Governor Curtin, and the governors of other States interested in the proper care of their soldier-dead. The Hon. Edward Everett of Massachusetts was selected as the orator of the occasion, and September 23, 1863, Mr. Wills, as the agent of the Governor of Pennsylvania, addressed to him the following note:

"The several States having soldiers in the Army of the Potomac, who fell at the battle of Gettysburg in July last, gallantly fighting for the Union, have made arrangements here for the exhuming of all their dead, and their removal and decent burial in a cemetery selected for that purpose on a prominent part of the battle-field. The design is to bury all in common, marking with headstones, with the

proper inscription, the known dead, and to erect a suitable monument to the memory of all these brave men, who have thus sacrificed their lives on the altar of their country. This burial-ground will be consecrated to this sacred and holy purpose on Thursday, the 23d day of October next, with appropriate ceremonies, and the several States interested have united in the selection of you to deliver the oration on that solemn occasion. I am therefore instructed by the governors of the different States interested in the project to invite you cordially to join with them in the ceremonies, and to deliver the oration for the occasion."

Three days later, September 26th, Mr. Everett addressed to Mr. Wills a favorable reply. He said: "I have received your favor of the 23d instant, inviting me, on behalf of the governors of the States interested in the preparation of a cemetery for the soldiers who fell in the great battles of July last, to deliver an address at the consecration. I feel much complimented by this request, and would cheerfully undertake the performance of a duty at once so interesting and honorable. It is, however, wholly out of my power to make the requisite preparation by the 23d of October. I am under engagements which will occupy all my time from Monday next to the 12th of October, and, indeed, it is doubtful whether, during the whole month of

October, I shall have a day at my command.

“The occasion is one of great importance, not to be dismissed with a few sentimental or patriotic commonplaces. It will demand as full a narrative of the events of the three important days as the limits of the hour will admit, and some appropriate discussion of the political character of the great struggle, of which the battle of Gettysburg is one of the most momentous incidents. As it will take me two days to reach Gettysburg, and it will be highly desirable that I should have at least one day to survey the battle-field, I cannot safely name an earlier time than the 19th of November.

“Should such a postponement of the day first proposed be admissible, it will give me great pleasure to accept the invitation.”

In compliance with Mr. Everett's suggestion as expressed in this letter, Thursday, the 19th of November, was appointed for the commemoration services.

Among those who were invited to be present was General Meade, commanding the Army of the Potomac. In a letter to Mr. Wills, acknowledging the reception of this invitation, General Meade wrote: “I have the honor to acknowledge the invitation which, on behalf of the Governor of Pennsylvania, and other States interested, you extend to me and the officers and men of my command,

to be present on the 19th instant at the consecration of the burial-place of those who fell on the field of Gettysburg.

“It seems almost unnecessary for me to say that none can have a deeper interest in your good work than comrades in arms, bound in close ties of long association and mutual confidence and support with those to whom you are paying this last tribute of respect; nor could the presence of any be more appropriate than that of those who stood side by side in the struggle, shared the peril, and the vacant places in whose ranks bear sad testimony to the loss they have sustained. But this army has duties to perform which will not admit of its being represented on the occasion; and it only remains for me in its name, with deep and grateful feelings to thank you and those you represent for your tender care of its heroic dead, and for your patriotic zeal, which, in honoring the martyr, gives a fresh incentive to all who do battle for the maintenance of the integrity of the government.”

It was especially desired that the national government should be represented at the consecration services by its head, and Mr. Wills sent to President Lincoln the following invitation on November 2, 1863:

“The several States having soldiers in the Army of the Potomac, who were killed at the battle of

Gettysburg, or have since died at the various hospitals which were established in the vicinity, have procured grounds on a prominent part of the field for a cemetery, and are having the dead removed to them and properly buried. These grounds will be consecrated and set apart to this sacred purpose, by appropriate ceremonies, on Thursday, the 19th instant. Hon. Edward Everett will deliver the oration. I am authorized by the governors of the different States to invite you to be present and participate in these ceremonies, which will doubtless be very imposing and solemnly impressive. It is the desire that after the oration, you, as Chief Executive of the nation, formally set apart these grounds to their sacred use by a few appropriate remarks. It will be a source of great gratification to the many widows and orphans that have been made almost friendless by the great battle here, to have you here personally; and it will kindle anew in the breasts of the comrades of these brave dead, who are now in the tented field or nobly meeting the foe in the front, a confidence that they who sleep in death on the battle-field are not forgotten by those highest in authority; and they will feel that, should their fate be the same, their remains will not be uncared for. We hope you will be able to be present to perform this last solemn act to the soldier-dead on this battle-field."

This official invitation was accompanied by a private note from Mr. Wills as follows: "As the hotels in our town will be crowded and in confusion at the time referred to in the enclosed invitation, I write to invite you to stop with me. I hope you will feel it your duty to lay aside pressing business for a day to come on here to perform this last sad rite to our brave soldiers on the 19th instant. Governor Curtin and Hon. Edward Everett will be my guests at that time, and if you come you will please join them at my house."

Of course, November was a busy month for Mr. Lincoln. In all that pertained to the various armies in the field the President took a very deep interest. The time for the meeting of Congress also was approaching, and his annual message was to be prepared. But Mr. Lincoln needed no urging with reference to this appointment. His great heart was too full of gratitude for what had been so gloriously accomplished at Gettysburg, and he purposed to meet the appointment. The members of the Cabinet were among those who received special invitations. On November 17th, Mr. Lincoln wrote to Mr. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury: "I expected to see you here at Cabinet meeting, and to say something about going to Gettysburg. There will be a train to take and return us. The time for starting is not yet fixed; but when it shall be I will

notify you." Mr. Chase, however, was not able to go to Gettysburg, and had so notified Mr. Wills. Secretary Stanton, also, found the duties of his office too pressing to admit of his absence from Washington at that time; but on the 17th he sent to the President a note with reference to the arrangements he had made for the transportation of the Washington invited guests:

"It is proposed by the Baltimore and Ohio road: First, to leave Washington, Thursday morning at 6 A.M., Second, to leave Baltimore at 8 A.M., arriving at Gettysburg at twelve, noon, thus giving two hours to view the ground before the dedication ceremonies commence. Third, to leave Gettysburg at 6 P.M., and arrive at Washington at midnight, thus doing all in one day."

This arrangement was not satisfactory to Mr. Lincoln. The time at Gettysburg was wholly insufficient for such a visit. Busy as the President was, he was not so busy but that he could give all the time that such an occasion might properly demand. Then, too, an accident might prevent his reaching Gettysburg in season, and he wrote upon this note from Mr. Stanton the following endorsement: "I do not like the arrangement. I do not wish to so go that by the slightest accident we fail entirely; and, at the best, the whole to be a mere breathless running of the gauntlet. But any way."

In other words, if no other arrangement were possible, he would yield of course. But another arrangement was possible, and when this was made the President was informed that the special train would leave Washington at noon on Wednesday, November 18th, instead of 6 A.M., on Thursday, the 19th.

CHAPTER III

PRESIDENT LINCOLN GOES TO GETTYSBURG

THREE members of the Cabinet accompanied the President to Gettysburg—Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, Mr. Usher, Secretary of the Interior, and Mr. Blair, Postmaster-General. The French Minister, M. Mercier, the Italian Minister, M. Bertinatti, and several legation secretaries and attachés were of the party. Mr. John G. Nicolay, the President's private secretary, and Colonel John Hay, his assistant private secretary, were in attendance upon the President. Among the guests, also, were Captain H. A. Wise, U. S. N., and Mrs. Wise, a daughter of the Hon. Edward Everett. On the train, moreover, were newspaper correspondents from Washington, and a military guard of honor; also military officers who here and there joined the train on the way to Gettysburg.

The special train reached Gettysburg at the close of the afternoon. The President went at once to the home of Mr. Wills, while the members of his Cabinet who were present, and other distinguished guests, were made welcome in other homes.

The little town now suddenly become so famous was already full of visitors, drawn thither by the commemorative services of the following day. In the evening everywhere were heard the stirring strains of martial music, also the favorite war-songs as sung by innumerable glee-clubs. Some of the more prominent guests were serenaded, and there were calls for speeches. Mr. Lincoln responded to such a call in these brief words: "I appear before you, fellow-citizens, merely to thank you for this compliment. The inference is a very fair one that you would hear me for a little while at least, were I to commence to make a speech. I do not appear before you for the purpose of doing so, and for several substantial reasons. The most substantial of these is that I have no speech to make. In my position it is somewhat important that I should not say any foolish things. [A voice, 'If you can help it.'] It very often happens that the only way to help it is to say nothing at all. Believing that is my present condition this evening, I must beg of you to excuse me from addressing you further."

The visitors then called upon other distinguished guests, and short addresses were made by Secretary Seward, Representatives McPherson and McKnight, Judge Shannon, Colonel John W. Forney, Wayne MacVeagh, and perhaps others. Mr.



Abraham Lincoln.
A Drawing from Life by F. B. Carpenter

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Seward, in his address as published in a volume giving an account of the consecration of the cemetery at Gettysburg, printed in Boston early in 1864, is made to say, "This is the first time that ever any people or community so near to the border of Maryland was found willing to listen to my voice"; but when the writer was in Gettysburg a few years ago, and Judge Wills was giving him an account of President Lincoln's visit, he said that Mr. Seward, instead of using the words "so near to the border of Maryland," said, "on this side of Mason and Dixon's line," meaning the southern side. In some way, strangely enough, he had come to think of Gettysburg as being in the State of Maryland, and so at the time supposed he was speaking largely to slave-holders. In fact the note of this presupposition runs all through the address, for Mr. Seward added: "I am thankful that you are willing to hear me at last. I thank my God that I believe this strife is going to end in the removal of all that evil which ought to have been removed by deliberate councils and peaceful means. ['Good.'] I thank my God for the hope . . . that when that cause is removed, simply by the operation of abolishing it, as the origin and agent of the treason that is without justification and without parallel, we shall henceforth be united, be only one country, having only one hope, one

ambition, and one destiny. To-morrow, at least, we shall feel that we are not enemies, but that we are friends and brothers, that this Union is a reality, and we shall mourn together for the evil wrought by this rebellion. . . . When we part to-morrow night, let us remember that we owe it to our country and to mankind that this war shall have for its conclusion the establishing of the principle of democratic government—the simple principle that whatever party, whatever portion of the community, prevails by constitutional suffrage in an election, that party is to be respected and maintained in power until it shall give place, on another trial and another verdict, to a different portion of the people. If you do not do this, you are drifting at once and irresistibly to the very verge of universal, cheerless, and hopeless anarchy.” There were those in Maryland to whom these words might very appropriately have been addressed, but they fell with somewhat of surprise upon the ears of loyal, patriotic Pennsylvanians.

About nine o'clock in the evening President Lincoln sent his servant down-stairs with a request for writing materials. These Mr. Wills himself took to Mr. Lincoln's chamber. When Mr. Wills entered the room, the President said, “Mr. Wills, what do you expect from me to-morrow?” Mr. Wills replied, “A brief address,

Mr. President." He then left the President. In about half an hour Mr. Lincoln came down-stairs with some sheets of paper in his hand, and asked Mr. Wills to accompany him to the house in which Secretary Seward was a guest. They found Mr. Seward, and President Lincoln handed to the Secretary the manuscript he had brought. The Secretary read what Mr. Lincoln had written, expressed his satisfaction with it, and then the President and Mr. Wills returned to Mr. Wills's house.¹

It has been said that Mr. Lincoln wrote his Gettysburg address in the car on his way to the consecration services. For example, Arnold, in his *Life of Abraham Lincoln*,² says that the President, "while in the cars on his way from the White House to the battle-field, was notified that he would be expected to make some remarks also"; that "asking for some paper, a rough sheet of foolscap was handed to him, and, retiring to a seat by himself, with a pencil he wrote the address." Ben Perley Poore, also, in his *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*,³ says that the President's remarks at Gettysburg "were written in the car on his way from Washington to the battle-field, upon a piece of paste-board held on his knee." It has

¹ Communicated to the writer by Wm. P. Quimby, Esq. of Gettysburg, Judge Wills's son-in-law.

² Page 328.

³ Page 228.

been said also that Mr. Lincoln wrote the address upon his hat, which he held in his lap.

On the contrary, however, Mr. John G. Nicolay, President Lincoln's private secretary, who, as has been stated, accompanied the President to Gettysburg, says: "There is neither record, evidence, nor well-founded tradition that Mr. Lincoln did any writing, or made any notes, on the journey between Washington and Gettysburg. The train consisted of four passenger coaches, and either composition or writing would have been extremely troublesome amid all the movement, the noise, the conversation, the greeting, and the questionings which ordinary courtesy required him to undergo in these surroundings; but still worse would have been the rockings and joltings of the train, rendering writing virtually impossible." ¹

Noah Brooks, in his *Life of Lincoln*,² says that, a few days before the 19th of November, Mr. Lincoln told him that Mr. Everett had kindly sent to him a copy of his address in order that the same ground might not be gone over by both, but Mr. Lincoln added: "There is no danger that I shall. My speech is all blocked out. It is very short." When Mr. Brooks asked the President if the address was written, Mr. Lincoln replied,

¹ *Century Magazine*, vol. xxv, p. 601.

² Page 394.

"Not exactly written; it is not finished, anyway."

A part of the address, however, was written on the day before Mr. Lincoln left Washington for Gettysburg. This much we know on the testimony of Private Secretary Nicolay, who a few years ago published a facsimile reproduction of this original draft of the President's Gettysburg address.¹ It reads as follows:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"Washington, . . . 1863.

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that 'all men are created equal.'

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final resting place for those who died here, that the nation might live. This we may, in all propriety do. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little

¹ *Century Magazine*, vol. xxv, pp. 598, 599.

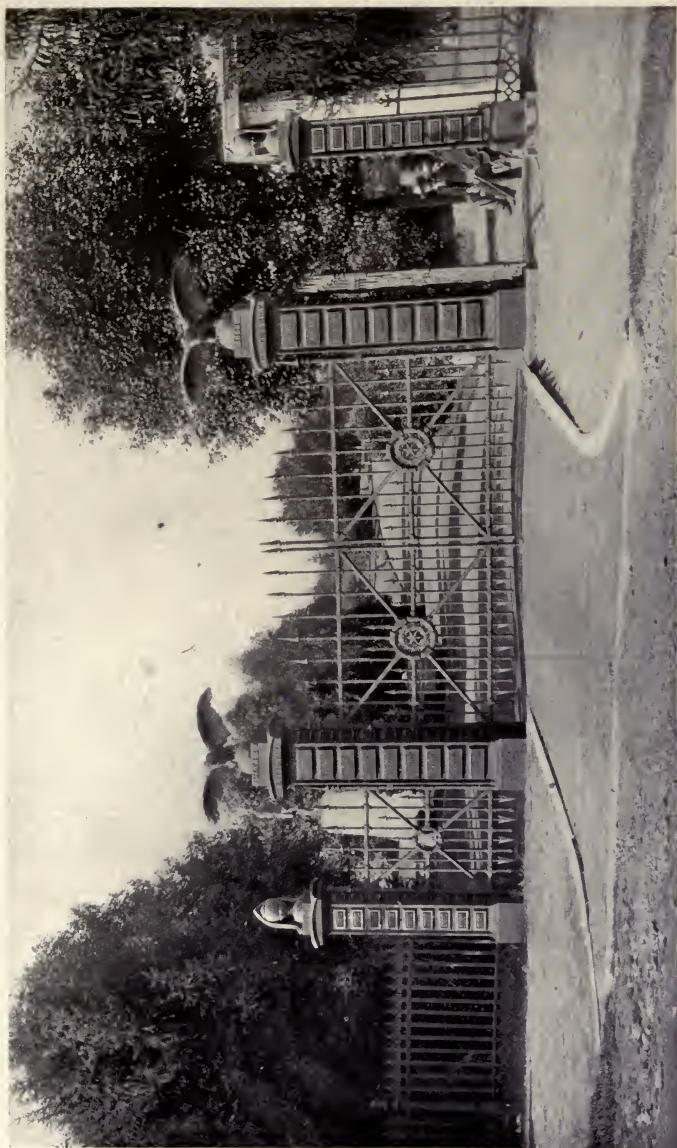
note, nor long remember what we say here; while it can never forget what they *did* here.

"It is rather for us, the living, we here be dedica—" ¹

The page closes with these words. Mr. Nicolay says: "The whole of the first page—nineteen lines—is written in ink in the President's strong, clear hand, without blot or erasure; and the last line is in the following form: 'It is rather for us the living to stand here,' the last three words being, like the rest, in ink. From the fact that this sentence is incomplete, we may infer that at the time of writing it in Washington the remainder of the sentence was also written in ink on another piece of paper. But when, at Gettysburg on the morning of the ceremonies, Mr. Lincoln finished his manuscript, he used a lead pencil, with which he crossed out the last three words of the first page, and wrote above them in pencil 'we here be dedica-' at which point he took up a new half sheet of paper—not white letter paper as before, but a bluish-gray foolscap of large size with wide lines, habitually used by him for long or formal documents,—and on this he wrote, all in pencil, the remainder of the word, and of the first draft of the address, comprising a total of nine lines and a half." ²

¹ *Century Magazine*, vol, xxv, pp. 598, 599.

² *Century Magazine*, vol. xxv., pp. 601, 602.



Entrance to the National Cemetery.

The part of the address on this second sheet is as follows:

"ted to the great task remaining before us—that, from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." ¹

Mr. Nicolay wrote his statement with reference to Mr. Lincoln's address thirty years after the consecration of the cemetery at Gettysburg. He gives his recollection of the finishing of the address in these words: "It was after the breakfast hour on the morning of the 19th, that the writer, Mr. Lincoln's private secretary, went to the upper room in the house of Mr. Wills which Mr. Lincoln occupied, to report for duty, and remained with the President while he finished writing the Gettysburg address, during the short leisure he could utilize for this purpose before being called to take his place in the procession, which was announced on the program to move promptly at ten o'clock." ²

It seems hardly possible that, with the quiet and

¹ *Century Magazine*, vol. xxv., p. 600.

² *Century Magazine*, vol. xxv., p. 601.

leisure of the evening before, Mr. Lincoln would have left the preparation of the conclusion of his address until the busy moments of the after-breakfast hour of the next morning, with the exception of the last touches which doubtless occupied his attention. Major W. H. Lambert of Philadelphia makes this statement: "The Hon. Edward McPherson and Judge Wills of Gettysburg are of the opinion that the address was written in Mr. Lincoln's room at Judge Wills's house, where he was guest during his stay in Gettysburg. There appears to be no doubt of the correctness of Mr. McPherson's assertion that before retiring on the night of the 18th the President inquired the order of the exercises of the next day, and wrote out his remarks there, and it is probable that what he wrote was the final draft of his address before its delivery."¹

When these words were written, Major Lambert had not seen Mr. Nicolay's statement with reference to the first page of Mr. Lincoln's original draft of the Gettysburg address. His language, however, implies an original draft. Nor, evidently, had Mr. Nicolay any knowledge of the fact that in the evening of the 18th, Mr. Lincoln had asked Mr. Wills what was expected of him in connection with the consecration services, and had received

¹ *Century Magazine*, vol. xxv., p. 637.

from him writing materials in accordance with a request of the President. As all the evidence with reference to the composition of the original draft of the Gettysburg address is now in, therefore, the facts seem to be these: that on the day before he left Washington for Gettysburg, Mr. Lincoln, who had already "blocked out" his address, wrote in ink the first page on paper with the Executive Mansion letter-head, and he may have completed the address—probably did—on another sheet of the same paper. At Gettysburg, however, where he went over the address again, he was dissatisfied with the conclusion, if the conclusion had been written; or, if it had not been written, he now completed the address, probably in the evening of the 18th, possibly on the morning of the 19th, in the house of Mr. Wills, using a lead-pencil, striking out, on the first sheet written in ink in Washington, the words "to stand here," and adding the words in pencil, "we here be dedica-." This pencil change at the bottom of the first page was evidently a hurried one, "we" being used for "to," but there is no evidence of haste either in the composition or the writing of the nine and a half lines on the second page.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONSECRATION SERVICES

EARLY on the morning of November 19th all was stir and bustle in Gettysburg. The day was a serene, delightful one. The little town was crowded. There were the usual delays in forming the procession. The President was mounted, as also were Secretaries Seward, Usher, and Blair, with others of the official retinue. Mr. Nicolay tells us that as soon as Mr. Lincoln appeared in the procession he was besieged by a throng of people eager to shake hands with the President, and that the marshals had some difficulty in inducing the crowd to desist and allow Mr. Lincoln to sit in peace upon his horse. In the military part of the procession were Generals Schenck, Stahel, Stone-man, and their staffs, and numerous other officers of less prominence. It was not until about eleven o'clock that the presidential party reached the platform in the cemetery.¹ "Mr. Everett, the

¹ "A stage, hardly more, as it seemed, by comparison with what it should have been, than 'seven by nine,' and elevated only three feet from the ground, had been built facing the cemetery, the town, the rebel position, the country around and the grand chain of high hills whose tops ascend to meet the distant horizon."—*Boston Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 23, 1863.

orator of the day, arrived fully half an hour later, and there was still further waiting before the military bodies and civic spectators could be properly arranged and stationed."

The following was the program at the consecration services:

Music by Borgfield's Band.

Prayer by Rev. T. H. Stockton, D.D.

Music by the Marine Band.

Oration by Hon. Edward Everett.

Music, Hymn composed by B. B. French, Esq.

Dedicatory Remarks by the President of the
United States.

Dirge sung by Choir selected for the occasion.

Benediction by Rev. H. L. Baugher, D.D.

The prayer by Dr. Stockton was a fervent, impressive recognition of the divine presence in the great victory vouchsafed to our arms on this now historic field, together with an earnest appeal for the blessing of God upon the nation's defenders: "O Father, bless us! Bless the bereaved, whether present or absent; bless our sick and wounded soldiers and sailors; bless all our rulers and people; bless our army and navy; bless the efforts for the suppression of the rebellion; and bless all the associations of this day and place and scene forever. As the trees are not dead, though their foliage is gone, so our heroes are not dead, though their

forms have fallen. In their proper personality they are all with Thee. And the spirit of their example is here. It fills the air; it fills our hearts. And long as time shall last it will hover in these skies, and rest on this landscape; and the pilgrims of our land, and from all lands, will thrill with its inspiration, and increase and confirm their devotion to liberty, religion, and God."

The oration by the Hon. Edward Everett followed. It opened—it was then fully noon—with a brief and eloquent review of the events, political and military, that culminated in the battle of Gettysburg. This was followed by a carefully prepared description of the battle. Then, at some length, Mr. Everett considered the question, "Which of the two parties to the war is responsible for all this suffering, for this dreadful sacrifice of life—the lawful and constitutional government of the United States, or the ambitious men who have rebelled against it?" Mr. Everett was not an extremist. Because of his strong Union sentiments he had been a friend to the South when others with whom he had been affiliated in party relations had found it impossible to be friendly. But coming to this part of his oration he stated his own convictions in these forceful words:

"I say 'rebelled' against it, although Earl Russell, the British Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, in his recent temperate and conciliatory speech in Scotland, seems to intimate that no prejudice ought to attach to that word, inasmuch as our English forefathers rebelled against Charles I. and James II., and our American fathers rebelled against George III. These certainly are venerable precedents, but they prove only that it is just and proper to rebel against oppressive governments. They do not prove that it was just and proper for the son of James II. to rebel against George I., or his grandson Charles Edward to rebel against George II.; nor, as it seems to me, ought these dynastic struggles, little better than family quarrels, to be compared with this monstrous conspiracy against the American Union. These precedents do not prove that it was just and proper for the 'disappointed great men' of the cotton-growing States to rebel against 'the most beneficent government of which history gives us any account,' as the Vice-President of the Confederacy, in November, 1860, charged them with doing. They do not create a presumption even in favor of the disloyal slave-holders of the South, who, living under a government of which Mr. Jefferson Davis, in the session of 1860-61, said that it was the 'best government ever instituted by man, unexceptionably administered, and under which the people have been prosperous beyond comparison with any other

people whose career has been recorded in history,' rebelled against it because their aspiring politicians, himself among the rest, were in danger of losing their monopoly of its offices. What would have been thought, by an impartial posterity, of the American rebellion against George III. if the colonists had at all times been more than equally represented in Parliament, and James Otis and Patrick Henry and Washington and Franklin and the Adamses and Hancock and Jefferson, and men of their stamp, had for two generations enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign and administered the government of the empire? What would have been thought of the rebellion against Charles I. if Cromwell and the men of his school had been the responsible advisers of that prince from his accession to the throne, and then, on account of a partial change in the ministry, had brought his head to the block, and involved the country in a desolating war, for the sake of dismembering it and establishing a new government south of the Trent? What would have been thought of the Whigs of 1688, if they had themselves composed the cabinet of James II. and been the advisers of the measures and the promoters of the policy which drove him into exile? The Puritans of 1640 and the Whigs of 1688 rebelled against arbitrary power in order to establish constitutional liberty. If they had

risen against Charles and James because those monarchs favored equal rights, and in order themselves 'for the first time in the history of the world' to establish an oligarchy 'founded on the cornerstone of slavery,' they would truly have furnished a precedent for the rebels of the South, but their cause would not have been sustained by the eloquence of Pym or of Somers, nor sealed with the blood of Hampden or Russell."¹

The various arguments used in the seceding States in justification of the war were then examined and refuted, and the oration closed with an eloquent peroration in which Mr. Everett gave fervent, forceful expression to the conviction that, although he was speaking while the war was still in progress, reunion and reconciliation would surely follow the conflict between the two hostile sections of the country, insisting that the "bonds of union are of perennial force and energy, while the causes of alienation are imaginary, factitious, and transient." Invoking upon the honored graves near where he spoke heartfelt benedictions, he added:

"God bless the Union; it is dearer to us for the blood of brave men which has been shed in its defence. The spots on which they stood and fell—these pleasant heights; the fertile plain beneath

¹ *Address of Hon. Edward Everett*, Boston Edition, 1864, pp. 61-63.

The Cemetery

them; the thriving village whose streets so lately rang with the strange din of war; the fields beyond the ridge, where the noble Reynolds held the advancing foe at bay, and, while he gave up his own life, assured by his forethought and self-sacrifice the triumph of the two succeeding days; the little streams which wind through the hills, on whose banks in after-times the wondering ploughman will turn up, with the rude weapons of savage warfare, the fearful missiles of modern artillery; Seminary Ridge, the Peach Orchard, Cemetery, Culp, and Wolf Hills, Round Top, Little Round Top, humble names, henceforward dear and famous—no lapse of time, no distance of space, shall cause you to be forgotten. ‘The whole earth,’ said Pericles, as he stood over the remains of his fellow-citizens who had fallen in the first year of the Peloponnesian war, ‘the whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men.’ All time, he might have added, is the millenium of their glory. Surely I would do no injustice to the other noble achievements of the war, which have reflected such honor on both arms of the service, and have entitled the armies and the navy of the United States, their officers and men, to the warmest thanks and the richest rewards which a grateful people can pay. But they, I am sure, will join us in saying, as we bid farewell to the dust of these martyr heroes, that wheresoever

throughout the civilized world the accounts of this great warfare are read, and down to the latest period of recorded time, in the glorious annals of our common country there will be no brighter page than that which relates to the battles of Gettysburg.”¹

The long and hearty applause that followed bore witness to the profound impression Mr. Everett had made upon his hearers. “For two hours,” says Mr. Nicolay, “he held the assembled multitude in rapt attention with his eloquent description and argument, his polished diction, his carefully studied and practised delivery.” No other oration of Mr. Everett’s, with the exception of his masterly oration on Washington, will so long be remembered as this in the cemetery at Gettysburg. It was in every way worthy of the occasion.

The following hymn, composed by B. B. French, Esq., was then sung by the Maryland Musical Association of Baltimore:

“‘T is holy ground,—
This spot where in their graves
We place our country’s braves
Who fell in Freedom’s holy cause,
Fighting for liberties and laws:
Let tears abound.

¹ *Address*, pp., 81, 82.

The Cemetery

“Here let them rest;
 And summer’s heat and winter’s cold
 Shall glow and freeze above this mould,
 A thousand years shall pass away,—
 A nation still shall mourn this clay,
 Which now is blest.

“Here, where they fell,
 Oft shall the widow’s tear be shed,
 Oft shall fond parents mourn their dead;
 The orphan here shall kneel and weep,
 And maidens, where their lovers sleep,
 Their woes shall tell.

“Great God in heaven!
 Shall all this sacred blood be shed?
 Shall we thus mourn our glorious dead?
 Oh! shall the end be wrath and woe,
 The knell of Freedom’s overthrow,
 A country riven?

“It will not be!
 We trust, O God, Thy gracious power
 To aid us in our darkest hour.
 This be our prayer,— “Father, save
 A people’s freedom from its grave.
 All praise to Thee!”

When this hymn had been sung, President Lincoln rose to deliver his brief address. He held his manuscript in his hand, but according to Mr. Nicolay, who sat within a few feet of the President,

he did not read from the written pages, "though that impression," he says, "was naturally left upon many of its auditors. That it was not a mere mechanical reading is, however, more definitely confirmed by the circumstance that Mr. Lincoln did not deliver the address in the exact form in which his first draft is written." As taken down in shorthand by the reporter for the Associated Press, and carried by telegraph to every part of the loyal States, the address was as follows:

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. [Applause.] Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met **on** a great battle-field of that war. We are met **to** dedicate a portion of it as the final resting place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. [Applause.] The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

[Applause.] It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished ¹ work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. [Applause.] It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain [applause]; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth." [Long continued applause.]

The principal emendations made in the delivery of the address were these: "Those who died here" was changed to "Those who here gave their lives." "This we may in all propriety do" was changed to "It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this." The sentence "It is rather for us the living we here be dedicated to the great task remaining before us" became two sentences—"It is for us the living to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us." The

¹ In printing the address, the *New York Herald* had here "refinished" instead of "unfinished."

phrase "shall have a new birth of freedom" was changed as follows: "shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom." There were also quite a number of verbal changes in the Associated Press report which were manifestly errors of the shorthand reporter. The changes Mr. Lincoln himself made added to the beauty and dignity of the language employed, rounding out the address "to nearly its final rhetorical completeness." As Mr. Nicolay says: "The changes may have been prompted by the oratorical impulse of the moment; but it is more likely that in the interval of four hours occupied by coming to the grounds, and the delivery of Mr. Everett's oration, he fashioned the phrases anew in his silent thought, and had these ready for use when he rose to speak."¹

The State of Massachusetts was represented at the consecration services by a commission appointed by Governor Andrew, consisting of Henry Edwards, George W. Bond, and Charles Hale. In their report to Governor Andrew, they gave in full Mr. Everett's oration and Mr. Lincoln's address. "The latter," they say, "which has not generally been printed rightly, having been marred by errors in telegraphing, is appended in the correct form, as the words actually spoken by the President, with great deliberation, were taken down by one of the

¹ *Century Magazine*, vol. xxv., p. 604.

undersigned." Doubtless the reference is to Mr. Hale, who was an experienced journalist. His report of the address was as follows:

"Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation, so conceived and dedicated, can long endure.

"We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who have given their lives that that nation might live.

"It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our power to add or detract.

"The world will very little note nor long remember what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here.

"It is for us, the living, rather, *to be dedicated*, here, to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before

us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." ¹

Mr. Lincoln's address was followed by a dirge, with words by Mr. James G. Percival and music by Mr. Alfred Delaney:

"Oh! it is great for our country to die, whose ranks
are contending;

Bright is the wreath of our fame; glory awaits us
for aye;

Glory that never is dim, shining on with a light never
ending,

Glory that never shall fade, never, oh, never away!

"Oh! it is sweet for our country to die. How softly
reposes

Warrior youth on his bier, wet by the tears of his
love,

Wet by a mother's warm tears; they crown him with
garlands of roses,

Weep and then joyously turn bright where he
triumphs above.

¹ *Senate Document*, No. 1. 1864, p. xxii.

The Cemetery

“Not in Elysian fields, by the still, oblivious river,
Not in the Isles of the Blest, over the blue rolling
sea;

But on Olympian heights shall dwell the devoted
forever;

There shall assemble the good, there the wise,
valiant and free.

“Oh! then how great for our country to die, in the
front rank perish,

Firm with our breast to the foe, victory's shouts
in our ear;

Long they our statues shall crown, in songs our
memory cherish;

We shall look forth from our heaven, pleased the
sweet music to hear.

The benediction was by the Rev. H. L. Baugher,
D.D., the president of Pennsylvania College at
Gettysburg:

“O thou King of kings and Lord of lords, God
of the nations of the earth, who by Thy kind provi-
dence hast permitted us to engage in these solemn
services, grant us thy blessing! Bless this conse-
crated ground, and these holy graves! Bless the
President of these United States and his Cabinet!
Bless the governors and the representatives of
the States here assembled with all needed, to con-
duct the affairs committed into their hands, to the
glory of Thy [great] name, and the greatest good of

the people! May this great nation be delivered from treason and rebellion at home, and from the power of enemies abroad.

“And now may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God our heavenly Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen.”

The services connected with the consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg thus came to an end. At the close of the day, the President and many of the other invited guests left Gettysburg on a special train, which reached Washington about midnight.

CHAPTER V

IMPRESSION MADE BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S ADDRESS

WITH reference to the impression made by President Lincoln's address at the time of its delivery, contrary statements have been made. One writer, reviewing these statements, says that the most plausible view is that the address was "received by the assemblage in comparative silence." But the Associated Press report shows that five times it was interrupted by "applause," and that at the close there was "long-continued applause." The Hon. Ward H. Lamon says that after the delivery of the address Mr. Lincoln regretted that it had not been more carefully prepared. "Lamon," he said, "that speech won't scour. It is a flat failure. The people are disappointed."

Also, according to Mr. Lamon, Mr. Everett and Secretary Seward thought the address a failure. It happens, however, that a note written by Mr. Everett to President Lincoln with reference to his address has been preserved. It was written the day after the consecration services, and was as follows:

“Not wishing to intrude upon your privacy, when you must be much engaged, I beg leave in this way to thank you very sincerely for your great thoughtfulness for my daughter's accommodation on the platform yesterday, and much kindness otherwise to me and mine at Gettysburg. Permit me also to express my great admiration of the thoughts expressed by you, with such eloquent simplicity and appropriateness, at the consecration of the cemetery. I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion in my two hours as you did in two minutes. My son, who parted from me at Baltimore, and my daughter concur in this sentiment.”

To this very complimentary note Mr. Lincoln replied on the same day: “Your kind note of to-day is received. In our respective parts yesterday you could not have been excused to make a short address, nor I a long one. I am pleased to know that, in your judgment, the little I did say was not entirely a failure. Of course I knew Mr. Everett would not fail; and yet, while the whole discourse was eminently satisfactory, and will be of great value, there were passages in it which transcended my expectations. The point made against the theory of the General Government being only an agency, whose principals are the States, was new to

me, and, as I think, is one of the best arguments for the national supremacy. The tribute to our noble women for their angel ministry to the suffering soldiers surpasses in its way, as do the subjects of it, whatever has gone before."

The correspondent of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, probably Hon. Charles Hale, who was present at the consecration services as one of the commissioners appointed by Governor Andrew to represent the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in a communication to that paper giving an account of the proceedings, said: "Mr. Lincoln's dedicatory remarks created a most favorable impression. They were delivered in a clear, full voice and seemed to be emphatically the right words in the right place." ¹

The Massachusetts Commissioners, in their report of the proceedings made to Governor Andrew, said that Mr. Lincoln's address "made a profound impression." ²

The members of the joint special committee of the City of Boston, having in charge the burial of the Massachusetts dead at Gettysburg, attended the consecration services, and in their report they said: "Perhaps nothing in the whole proceedings made so deep an impression on the vast assem-

¹ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 23, 1863.

² *Senate Document*, No. 1, 1864.

blage, or has conveyed to the country in so concise a form the lesson of the hour, as the remarks of the President. Their simplicity and force make them worthy of a prominence among the utterances from high places.”¹

These statements, recorded at the time by persons present at the consecration services, would seem to indicate that Mr. Lincoln had reason to be satisfied with the impression made by his address.

¹ *Report of the Joint Special Committee*, Boston, 1863.

CHAPTER VI

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S REVISION OF HIS ADDRESS

A FEW days after Mr. Lincoln's return to Washington, he received from Mr. Wills a note saying: "On behalf of the States interested in the National Cemetery here, I request of you the original manuscript of the dedicatory remarks delivered by you here last Thursday. We desire them to be placed with the correspondence and other papers connected with the project."

To comply with this request, says Mr. Nicolay,¹ the President turned to his original manuscript, and comparing it with the press reports, he discovered variations that rendered the first incomplete and the others imperfect. "By his direction, therefore, his secretaries made copies of the Associated Press report as it was printed in several prominent newspapers. Comparing these with his original draft, and with his own fresh recollection of the form in which he delivered it, he made a new autograph copy—a careful and deliberate

¹ *Century Magazine*, vol. xxv., pp. 604, 605.

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revision—which has become the standard and authentic text.”¹

This revision of the Gettysburg address, however, did not appear in the published proceedings at the consecration services. A volume published early in 1864 by Little, Brown & Company, Boston, for the benefit of the cemetery monument fund, and containing “an account of the origin of the undertaking and of the arrangement of the cemetery grounds,” as well as the oration by Mr. Everett, the address by the President, etc., included materials evidently furnished by Mr. Wills, such as the original design for a cemetery and his correspondence with reference to the establishment of the cemetery and its consecration. In this volume the President's address is in the form in which it was sent out by the Associated Press, and not in that of the revision, as Mr. Nicolay seems to have supposed.²

Concerning this volume, Mr. Everett wrote to President Lincoln January 30, 1864: “I shall have the honor of forwarding to you by express, to-day or on Monday next, a copy of the authorized edition of my Gettysburg address and of the remarks made by yourself, and the other matters connected with the ceremonial of the dedication of the

¹ For this revised version of the address, see p. 131.

² *Century Magazine*, vol. xxv., p. 604.

cemetery. It appeared, owing to unavoidable delays, only yesterday. I have promised to give the manuscript of my address to Mrs. Governor Fish of New York, who is at the head of the Ladies Committee of the Metropolitan Fair. It would add very greatly to its value if I could bind up with it the manuscript of your dedicatory remarks, if you happen to have preserved it. I would further venture to request, that you would allow me also to bind up in the volume the very obliging letter of the 20th of November, 1863, which you did me the favor to write to me. I shall part with it with much reluctance, and I shrink a little from the apparent indelicacy of giving some publicity to a letter highly complimentary to myself. But as its insertion would greatly enhance the value of the volume when sold at the fair, I shall, if I have your kind permission, waive all other considerations."

To this request Mr. Lincoln, under date of February 4, 1864, replied as follows: "Yours of January 30, was received four days ago; and since then the address mentioned has arrived. Thank you for it. I send herewith the manuscript of my remarks at Gettysburg, which, with my note to you of November 20, you are at liberty to use for the benefit of our soldiers, as you have requested."

Other requests came to Mr. Lincoln for manu-

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script copies of his Gettysburg address. These, says Mr. Nicolay, were made with painstaking care and corresponded with the revision of the address mentioned above. Such a copy was made by Mr. Lincoln for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Fair in Baltimore, which was opened April 18, 1864. Mr. Nicolay tells the story in these words:

"On the 5th of February a committee consisting of the Hon. John P. Kennedy, author of *Swallow Barn* and other novels, and Col. Alexander Bliss, then serving on the military staff of General Schenck, commanding at Baltimore, sent a circular to prominent American authors, soliciting from each a page or two of autograph manuscript to be published in facsimile in a small quarto volume and to be sold for the benefit of the fair. Some time in the month of February George Bancroft, the historian, who was in Washington, made verbal application to the President on their behalf for an autograph copy of his Gettysburg address, to be included in the volume. Mr. Lincoln wrote and sent them a copy; and when it was discovered that it was written on both sides of a letter sheet, and on that account was not available to be used in the process of lithographing, he made them a second copy, written only on one side of the letter pages. This was sent to the committee on March 11, 1864, and Mr. Bancroft was per-

mitted to keep the first; which appears recently [1894] to have passed, with other papers of the great historian, into the possession of the Lenox Library. The Baltimore Committee had the other duly lithographed and printed in their volume,¹ and it was sold at the fair. The first facsimile in the book of two hundred pages is that of the *Star-Spangled Banner*, the second Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address, and the last *Home, Sweet Home*; while between them are autograph specimen pages from the writings of nearly a hundred American authors. It is this Baltimore facsimile which by frequent photographs, and therefore exact reproduction, has properly become the standard text. It is this Baltimore facsimile which Nicolay and Hay inserted in their life of Lincoln in the chapter on the Gettysburg Address.²

A comparison of this revised autographic copy with the Associated Press report shows that Mr. Lincoln in the revision made thirteen changes in all. Seven of these were merely a return to the words used in the first draft of the address. "Are met" was changed back to "have come"; "the" to "a"; "of" to "for"; "power" to "poor power"; "the" to "these"; governments" to "govern-

¹ *Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors*. Baltimore: Cushing and Bailey, 1864.

² Vol. viii., pp. 200, 201.

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ment"; and "and" was omitted in the last sentence as in the original draft. The remaining six changes were rhetorical emendations. "Upon" was changed to "on"; "it" to "that field"; "they have" to "they who fought here have"; "carried on" to "advanced"; "they here gave" to "they gave"; and "shall under God" was made to read "under God shall."

The original manuscript of this final revision of President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address is in the possession of the family of the late Hon. John Hay. Near the close of 1904, and not long before Secretary Hay sailed for Europe in search of health, the writer of these lines received from him an answer to an inquiry giving some of the facts embodied in these pages. About that time, as a preface to the revised edition of *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg*, Colonel John P. Nicholson, chairman of the Gettysburg Battle-field Commission, had printed Mr. Lincoln's address from Col. Hay's copy, word for word, line for line, and paragraph for paragraph. The punctuation also was accurately copied. As printed by Colonel Nicholson, the address is as follows:

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

“Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

“But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

It is in this authoritatively attested revised form. therefore, that the Gettysburg address should be

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handed down to future generations. The address has already long been recognized as one of the world's masterpieces in oratory. The sublimity of its thought is equalled only by the simplicity of the language which Mr. Lincoln employed to give that thought adequate expression. Undoubtedly, after receiving Mr. Wills's invitation, the President, as he found opportunity, revolved in his mind the ideas embodied in the address. Even the first draft of the address was a noble expression of these ideas. Only a few touches here and there were required in order to give to Mr. Lincoln's words their proper rhetorical form, so completely had the thoughts of the address been moulded in the author's mind in his meditation upon them.

It is true, as Mr. Lincoln said, that what the brave soldiers of the Army of the Potomac did at Gettysburg will never be forgotten. From no other lips than those of one so providentially raised up to direct the affairs of the nation in a great crisis of its history could these words so fittingly have come. No one knew better than Mr. Lincoln what the war meant to the people of the United States. The issues that were fought out in the Civil War could not be avoided. The pain and suffering begotten in such a conflict Mr. Lincoln felt. The consecration services at Gettysburg only made more real to him the fearful cost of the war. But he saw, and

he saw clearly, that only through conflict, and the pain and suffering such conflict always entails, could "a new birth of freedom" for the nation be secured. Much as he deprecated war, he could not but look upon it as

"God's most dreaded instrument
In working out a pure intent."

And so, as he spoke, his face was toward the future, and he would anew dedicate himself—he would have his countrymen anew dedicate themselves—"to the unfinished work" "thus far so nobly advanced"—a work which happily he lived to see accomplished in the surrender of Lee's army at Appomattox. The dead at Gettysburg, and on many another battle-field of the Rebellion, had not "died in vain."

It has been said that the closing words of the Gettysburg address¹ were borrowed from a speech made by Theodore Parker at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston, May 29, 1850, in which Mr. Parker used these words: "A democracy—that is, a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people." But others had used like words before. In *The Advancement of Society in Knowledge and Religion*, by James Douglas,

¹ "The last phrase is one that the world had been working at, and Lincoln had marked something very much like it in one of Theodore Parker's lectures; but it was chosen for this final place with literary skill."—Norman Hapgood in *Abraham Lincoln, the Man and the People*, pp. 338, 339.

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Edinburgh, 1830, 3d edition (1st edition in 1825) occur these words (p. 70): "The depressed vassal of the old Continent becomes co-legislator, and co-ruler, in a government where all power is from the people, and in the people, and for the people." Webster also, in his reply to Hayne in the Senate of the United States, January 26, 1830, used these words: "The people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people." Likewise Lieutenant M. F. Maury, in a report on the subject of Fortifications, made in August, 1851—in a little more than a year after Theodore Parker delivered the speech to which reference is made above—used similar language: "Unlike Europe, there are no disaffected people in this country for a foe to tamper with. The government is by the people, for the people, and with the people." As Mr. Nicolay says:¹ "The mere arrangement of these quotations in their chronological order shows how unjust is any inference that Mr. Lincoln took his sentence at second hand. There is no more reason to suppose that he copied his phrase from Theodore Parker, than there is that Parker copied his from Daniel Webster, or Webster his from James Douglas. All these are plainly coincidences, growing out of the very nature of the topic."

¹ *Century Magazine*, vol. xxv., p. 608.

CHAPTER VII

PROVISION FOR THE COMPLETION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE CEMETERY

IT still remained for those interested in the National Cemetery at Gettysburg to provide for the expenses already incurred, also to complete the work so well begun, and to make provision for the proper adornment and care of the grounds. Governor Curtin, accordingly, requested the governors of the several States having soldiers buried in the cemetery to appoint commissioners to meet in Harrisburg, December 17, 1863. In response to this invitation, the following commissioners appeared: Hon. B. W. Norris, Maine; Hon. L. B. Mason, New Hampshire; Mr. Henry Edwards, Massachusetts; Mr. Alfred Coit, Connecticut; Hon. Levi Scobey, New Jersey; Mr. David Wills, Col. James Worrall, Pennsylvania; Col. John S. Berry, Maryland; Mr. L. W. Brown, Col. Gordon Lofland, Ohio; Col. John G. Stephenson, Indiana; and Mr. W. G. Selleck, Wisconsin. Mr. Wills was made chairman of the meeting and Mr. Selleck, secretary.

At this meeting certain suggestions were submitted to the commissioners. One of these was



The Graves in the National Cemetery. (From the top of the New York State Monument.)

that the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for the States having soldiers buried in the National Cemetery, should hold in trust the title to the land which had been purchased and consecrated as the burial-place of the Union dead at Gettysburg. It was also suggested that the Legislature of Pennsylvania should be requested to create a corporation to be managed by trustees, one to be appointed by each of the governors of the following States: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota; also of such other States as might afterward desire to be represented in this corporation, said corporation to have exclusive control of the National Cemetery.

The estimated expenses for the completion of the cemetery were as follows:

Enclosing grounds	\$15,000
Burial expenses and superintending	6,000
Headstones	10,000
Laying out grounds and planting trees	5,000
Lodge	2,500
Monument	25,000
Total	<hr/> \$63,500

The several States were asked to appropriate a sum of money, to be determined by a division of the estimated expenses according to representation in Congress, to be expended in defraying the cost of removing and re-interring the dead, and of completing the work connected with the cemetery under the direction of the cemetery corporation. It was also suggested that, when this work was completed, the grounds should be kept in order from a fund created by annual appropriations made by the States, and represented in the cemetery corporation in proportion to their representation in Congress.

The national monument was to be a conspicuous feature of the cemetery, and a committee was now appointed to procure designs for a monument worthy of the heroic dead.

The work of exhuming and bringing together in the cemetery the bodies of the Union soldiers, commenced on October 27, 1863, was not completed until March 18, 1864. The total number of removals at that time was 3512; of these, 979 were "unknown." Other bodies were subsequently found, and in 1865 the State of Pennsylvania published a list, by States, of all the burials up to that time. The summary was as follows:



Monument in National Cemetery.

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Maine	104	Ohio	131
New Hampshire	49	Indiana	80
Vermont	61	Illinois	6
Massachusetts	159	Michigan	171
Rhode Island	12	Wisconsin	73
Connecticut	22	Minnesota	52
New York	866	U. S. Regulars	138
New Jersey	78	Unknown—Lot	
		North	411
Pennsylvania	526	Unknown—Lot	
		South	425
Delaware	15	Unknown—Lot	
Maryland	22	Inner Circle	143
			<hr/>
West Virginia	11	Total	3555

The design for a national monument in the cemetery, to be executed by Mr. J. G. Batterson, of Hartford, Conn., was accepted, and the corner stone was laid July 4, 1865, with an oration by Maj.-Gen. O. O. Howard. At the dedication of the monument, July 1, 1869, the prayer was by Henry Ward Beecher. Hon. Oliver P. Morton delivered the oration. There was also an address by Maj.-Gen. George G. Meade, and an ode by Bayard Taylor. The monument is sixty feet high, and is crowned with a colossal statue of Liberty, standing on a three-quarters globe. In her right hand the goddess holds the victor's laurel wreath, while with her left

hand she gathers up the folds of the national flag under which the victory at Gettysburg was won. At the four angles of the massive pedestal, twenty-five feet square at the base, are four buttresses upon which rest allegorical figures representing War, History, Peace, and Plenty. On a bronze tablet, on the side of the monument facing the town cemetery, President Lincoln's Gettysburg address is recorded in full.

PART III
THE NATIONAL PARK

THE NATIONAL PARK

CHAPTER I

WORK OF THE GETTYSBURG BATTLE-FIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

PUBLIC interest in Gettysburg was not confined to the cemetery, to which the dead of the battle were brought and tenderly, lovingly, laid to rest. Very early, even before the Civil War closed, steps were taken for the preservation of the then existing memorials of the great conflict of July 1, 2, and 3, 1863, and for the erection of such added memorials as might afterward be reared in patriotic remembrance of the victory there won.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania, by an act approved April 30, 1864, incorporated the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association. The object of the Association, as set forth in the act of incorporation, was "to hold and preserve the battle-grounds of Gettysburg, on which were fought the actions of the first, second, and third days of July, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, with the natural and artificial defences, as they were at the time of said battle, and by such

perpetuation, and such memorial structures as a generous and patriotic people may aid to erect, to commemorate the heroic deeds, the struggles and the triumphs of their brave defenders."

For the accomplishment of this object, the Association was given power "to take, and to hold, by gift, grant, devise, purchase, or lease, such personal property and effects and all such portions of said battle-grounds as may be necessary, or convenient, to promote and accomplish the object of its incorporation; to enclose, and perpetuate, said grounds and defences; to keep them in repair and a state of preservation; to construct and maintain ways and roads; to improve and ornament the grounds; and to erect and promote the erection, by voluntary contributions, of structures and works of art and taste thereon, adapted to designate the spots of special interest; to commemorate the great deeds of valor, endurance, and noble self-sacrifice; and to perpetuate the memory of the heroes, and the signal events, which render these battle-grounds illustrious."

A supplemental act, approved April 24, 1866, authorized the president and directors of the Association, "by themselves, committees, engineer, surveyor, superintendent, or agents by them appointed, to survey, locate, and lay out roads and avenues from any public road or roads in the vicin-



The New York State Monument in the National Cemetery.

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ity of Gettysburg, or of said battle-grounds, to and upon, and also in and through, any portion or portions of said battle-grounds, not, however, passing through any dwelling-house, or any burying-ground, or any place of public worship, and to open and fence, or otherwise enclose, such roads and avenues, the latter of a width not exceeding three hundred feet; and the same may be laid out so as to embrace any breast-works, or lines of defences, or positions of the forces engaged in the battle of Gettysburg, and with power to plant rows or colonnades of trees upon said roads and avenues."

Before entering upon and taking possession of land for these roads or avenues, however, the Association was to make ample compensation to the owner or owners; and in case the Association could not agree with the owner or owners, like proceedings for ascertaining and recovering damages on account of taking and appropriating such lands should be had as are provided for land-owners in ascertaining and recovering damages from railroad companies.

In 1867 the State of Pennsylvania appropriated three hundred dollars "to be applied to the purchase of portions of the battle-grounds, and the general purposes" for which the Memorial Association was incorporated. It is thought that this money was expended in the purchase of that portion of Culp's

Hill upon which the breastworks were still standing; also for the purchase of East Cemetery Hill, where Stewart's, Reynolds', Ricketts', and Wiedrich's batteries were placed at the time of the battle; and also for the purchase of a piece of Little Round Top.

Unfortunately there are no records of the earlier meetings of the Association. Such records with reference to the little that was done by the Association, in the beginning of its invaluable work, would now have very great interest. The first meeting of the Association of which any record remains was held June 10, 1872. Governor John W. Geary was elected president, David McConaughy vice-president, John M. Krauth secretary, and George Arnold treasurer. The fact that at this meeting Mr. Arnold submitted a report is an indication that he had served the Association as treasurer before his election in 1872.

Mr. McConaughy, who was appointed counsel and actuary, was requested to secure from the States interested in the work of the Association appropriations to defray the expenses of carrying out the plans and purposes thus far formed. The officers of the Association, also, were instructed to make application to the proper authorities in Washington for condemned ordnance to mark the position of the Union artillery during the battle. In 1873

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Congress responded to this request by donating to the Association a number of cannon and cannon balls for the purpose made known in the request.

But the activity of the Association thus indicated seems not to have been permanent. Measures taken for the purpose of awakening in some of the States a deeper interest in the work of the Association failed to secure needed assistance in carrying forward the work already outlined. There was an election of officers each year, but between August 26, 1874, and July 7, 1879, no meetings of the board were held. As far as was possible, however, the work of the Association was cared for meanwhile by Mr. David McConaughy.

When the Board met in the summer of 1879, there was evidence of a revival of interest in the work of the Association. In the previous summer the Pennsylvania Department of the Grand Army of the Republic encamped on East Cemetery Hill. During the encampment old memories were awakened, and what had already been done in purchasing land at important points on the battle-field, and in preserving the lines of works used at the time of the battle, kindled in many minds a desire to continue the work so well begun, and to carry out more fully the objects of the Association as indicated in the act of incorporation. Especially strong was the impression made during the encamp-

ment upon the Assistant Adjutant General of the Department, Mr. J. M. Vanderslice of Philadelphia. In the Battle-field Memorial Association he found at hand an instrument for the accomplishment of a great and important undertaking. An examination of the act of incorporation disclosed the fact that the objects of such an Association had been rightly conceived. All that was necessary in order to make the Association successful in the task thus indicated was ample financial support; and in the belief that the Department could easily furnish such support, he sought to enlist the interest of his comrades in all parts of the State. Circulars were prepared, and these were forwarded to the various posts connected with the Department. It was at the suggestion of Mr. Vanderslice also that General Strong Vincent Post, No. 67, of Erie, Pa., erected during the encampment a tablet on Little Round Top to mark the spot where General Vincent was killed. This is said to have been the first memorial of any kind erected on the Gettysburg battle-field outside of the cemetery. Colonel Fred Taylor Post, No. 19, of Philadelphia, at the same time placed in front of Round Top a small tablet to indicate the spot where Colonel Taylor fell at the head of the Bucktail Rifle Regiment.

As yet no regiment had erected on the battle-field any memorial of its service on those never-to-



The Swale near Spangler's Spring.

27th Indiana Monument at the Edge of the Woods at the Left. Monument of the 2d Massachusetts on a Boulder farther to the Right.

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be-forgotten days, July 1-3, 1863. But in the following year, 1879, the Second Massachusetts Infantry affixed to a large boulder, across the swale known as Spangler's meadow, a bronze tablet reciting in outline the facts connected with the gallant charge made by the regiment, July 3d, on the enemy's line at the base of Culp's Hill opposite, in which the regiment lost four officers and forty-one enlisted men killed or mortally wounded, and six officers and eighty-four enlisted men wounded. The erection of this monument, with its simple but thrilling story, was a suggestion that did not fail at once to make an impression upon the survivors of other regiments that had a part in the victory won at Gettysburg. The attempt to enlist the support of the Grand Army in the work of the Memorial Association was successful. Shares of the stock of the Association were purchased by Grand Army posts and by individuals connected with the organization; and at a meeting of the stockholders held in Gettysburg, June 21, 1880, the officers chosen largely represented the Department of Pennsylvania. With the money received from the sale of stock, the debts of the Association were paid, and there remained in the treasury a balance of \$515.97.

The Association now entered upon a new and

more active period of service in carrying out the objects for which it was organized. Sergeant N. G. Wilson, Superintendent of the National Cemetery, was made General Superintendent of the grounds of the Association, embracing pieces of land upon Culp's Hill, East Cemetery Hill, and Little Round Top. In 1880 the Association appointed a committee to secure appropriations from the States having troops in the battle, in order to make additional purchases of land for the purpose of laying out avenues, and so making more accessible to visitors the various parts of the battle-field. This effort was so successful that at a meeting of the Association in 1881 it was voted to open an avenue sixty feet wide (except where the width was increased to embrace important points) from the Taneytown road to Little Round Top. It was found, however, that the terms of some of the land-owners were such as to be regarded as exorbitant; and it became necessary to resort to condemnation proceedings, in accordance with an act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania.

An act of Congress, approved June 9, 1880, made provision for a compilation of all available data used in locating troops on the engineer's maps of the battle; also for the preparation of diagrams showing the position of troops during the battle; also for the compensation of Mr. John B. Bachelder

for services, and maps and the manuscript describing the same.

Until 1882 the interest of Confederate survivors of the battle was confined largely to the removal of their dead comrades to Virginia and other Southern States,

“As if the quiet bones were blest
Amid familiar names to rest,
And in the places of their youth.”

At length, however, a delegation of Confederates visited Gettysburg for the purpose of locating the position of certain Confederate commands—a service in which they were followed by members of other Confederate commands in the Army of Northern Virginia.

The importance of securing land on the battle lines was kept steadily in view by the Association. In 1882 the Wheatfield, and the rest of Little Round Top still in private hands, were purchased, and an avenue was constructed from East Cemetery Hill to Culp's Hill, and the ground occupied by the Twelfth Corps on the extreme right of the Union position. The members of the Board of Directors of the Association at this time were mostly Pennsylvanians. It was now thought that the wider interests of the Association would be advanced by giving representatives from other States a place on the Board, and this was done. In 1883 Mr. John B.

Bachelor of Massachusetts, who for a long time had given much study to everything connected with the battle-field, was elected Superintendent of Tablets and Legends. It was at this time, also, that a rule was adopted requiring that all inscriptions to be affixed to memorials upon the battle-field should first be submitted to the directors of the Association.

Several regiments, in 1881, had erected monuments commemorating their services at the time of the battle. The State of Pennsylvania in the following year erected sign-boards, indicating the position of the regiments of the State on the Gettysburg battle-field. Minnesota, also, made an appropriation for the erection of similar sign-boards. These memorials were of a temporary character only, but they made very plain the usefulness of such helps to visitors, and they soon led to the preparation and erection of more enduring memorials. In this advanced movement Massachusetts was again at the front, the Massachusetts regiments being the first to receive an appropriation from the State for this purpose. This was in 1883 and the sum of five thousand dollars made it possible for the erection of monuments for all of the regiments at Gettysburg from that State, each regiment receiving an appropriation of five hundred dollars.

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The services of Gregg's cavalry division in protecting the Union right at Gettysburg, July 3d were fittingly recognized in 1884, by the proposal of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry to erect a monument on the field where Stuart was so gallantly and successfully repulsed in his attempt to reach the rear of the Union lines during Pickett's charge. The Memorial Association welcomed the proposal, and purchased land on which to erect the monument, together with the right of access to the same.

In 1884, also, it was decided by the Board to construct an avenue from Oak Ridge to the extreme left of the advanced position held by the First Corps on July 1, 1863, thus making accessible the line occupied by the Union forces on that day.

Added avenues were opened from time to time as additional land was secured. As the number of visitors to the battle-field increased, these improved facilities for reaching all the more prominent parts of the lines of conflict were so much appreciated that the necessity of still further attention to the matter was felt more and more year by year.

With reference to the monuments, important action was taken by the Board in 1885 when it was voted that regiments erecting such memorials upon the battle-field should be required to mark

the flanks of their positions whenever practicable; also in the following year, when the Secretary of War was requested not to permit the erection of any regimental monument or memorial in the cemetery until the location and inscription had been approved by the Association.

An inquiry in 1887, as to the cost of opening an avenue sixty feet wide on Seminary Ridge along the Confederate line, led to important results.

During this year, also, the land and house where General Meade had his headquarters during the battle were purchased, and authority was given for the erection of a marker indicating the spot where, at the time of Pickett's charge, the Confederate General Armistead fell mortally wounded within the Union lines.

The various States having soldiers in the battle of Gettysburg were now fully interested in the plans and purposes of the Association, and especially in the work of worthily commemorating the services of their own organizations, for which, from time to time, generous appropriations were made in aid of the work. Very naturally the inscriptions on some of the earlier monuments, especially as to the casualties sustained in the battle, were not always found to be accurate; and, in 1887, an order was adopted instructing the Superintendent of Tablets—Mr. Bachelder

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retained this position until September 16, 1887—to have the inscriptions on all of the monuments conform in the matter of casualties to the official records of the battle in the possession of the War Department. At this time, also, regiments erecting monuments on the ground of the Association were required to locate them in the position held by them in the line of battle, but they were not prohibited from erecting such markers as would serve to indicate secondary or advanced positions, occupied during the three days' fight. Mr. J. M. Vanderslice now succeeded Mr. Bachelder as Superintendent of Tablets and Legends. At this time the committee on the location of monuments was enlarged so as to consist of five members, and to this committee, of which Mr. Vanderslice was made a member, was assigned the duty of passing judgment upon the inscription as well as the location of monuments.

Rules regulating the erection of monuments and memorials were adopted by the Board July 3, 1888. These required that all monuments or memorials hereafter erected must be of granite or of real bronze; that on the front of each monument must be the number of the regiment or battery, State, brigade, division, and corps, in letters not less than four inches long, and, in addition thereto, the time the regiment held the position, and a

brief statement of any important movement it made; that if the regiment was actively engaged, its effective strength and casualties must be given, which must agree with the official records of the War Department; that if the regiment was in reserve it should be so stated; that if the same position was held by other troops, or if the command occupied more than one important position, the inscription should explain it; that all lettering must be deeply and distinctly cut; that any statue or figure of a soldier must be so placed as to face the enemy's line; that the monument must be on the line of battle held by the brigade unless the regiment was detached, and, if possible, the right and left flanks of the regiment or battery must be marked with stones not less than two feet in height; that if the same line was held by other troops, the monuments must be placed in the order in which the several commands occupied the grounds, the first being on the first line, the second at least twenty feet in the rear of it, and so on, the inscriptions explaining the movements.

Important recommendations and suggestions were added to these rules, and the whole were printed and sent to all State commissions appointed with reference to the erection of monuments upon the Gettysburg battle-field.

Very naturally on the part of visitors to the

battle-ground interest was shown not only in examining the Union line, but in the location and movements of the Confederate troops. In the location of the various organizations connected with the Army of the Potomac, therefore, it became evident to those engaged in the work that it was also desirable that the Confederate lines should be marked and made accessible. But this required the aid of the national government; and at a meeting held September 11, 1888, it was voted: "That it is the sense of this Association that the Congress of the United States should authorize the purchase of such land as may be necessary to open avenues and driveways along the whole line of battle occupied by the Army of Northern Virginia during the battle of Gettysburg, and that the positions occupied by the several divisions, brigades and regiments of such army should be marked with tablets."

The struggle to obtain funds for the proper execution of the plans of the Association was such, it was not until 1890 that the committee on the purchase of land was authorized to add to the property-holdings of the Association so much of the Peach Orchard as was necessary in providing a place for the monuments which the regiments that fought there desired to erect.

The plan for the High-Water Mark monument

and tablets at the copse of trees, toward which Pickett was directed to move in making his memorable charge, was submitted by Mr. Bachelder, May 10, 1891. This is one of the most noteworthy monuments on the field. It is a massive granite structure with polished faces, the whole resting upon a broad granite platform, and sustaining a large open volume in bronze upon whose ample pages are recorded the names of all the commands—Union on one page, Confederate on the other—that had a part in making and receiving what is commonly known as “Pickett’s charge.” The plan was approved, and the cost of the monument was defrayed by the Union States having soldiers in the line on either side of the copse on that memorable day.

But the resources of the Memorial Association were not adequate for meeting the demands constantly made upon it in order to care for those parts of the ground now in its possession; and there was need that the work should be still further extended so as to include the whole battle-field. Accordingly, at the meeting held May 10, 1891, a committee was appointed consisting of Generals Sickles, Barnum, and Wagner, Colonels Veazey and Briggs, and Messrs. Bachelder and McPherson, to devise a plan for the future maintenance of the Gettysburg battle-field. The Memorial Associa-



High-Water Mark Monument.

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tion had performed a great work. The natural features of the ground on which the battle was fought had been preserved. Avenues to various parts of the battle-field had been opened. The position of the Union troops had been fixed with painstaking care, and monuments had been located. But the work that remained to be done, and the proper oversight of the grounds in possession of the Association, required an annual outlay for which the limited and irregular income of the Association was manifestly insufficient.

By this committee the attention of the Congress of the United States was called to the work of the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association, and the necessity of government aid not only in completing the work, but in meeting the future requirements of the field. There was a favorable response to the representations of this committee, and an act of Congress, approved March 3, 1893, was passed authorizing the appointment by the Secretary of War of a Commission consisting of three members to whom the work of preserving the battle-lines at Gettysburg should be committed.

Meanwhile the Memorial Association continued its work, but in entire harmony with the work of the Commission. At a meeting of the executive committee held December 18, 1893, Mr. Bachelder

was authorized to receive all the cannon turned over to the Association by the Secretary of War under the act of Congress approved March 3, 1873, which was not actually in the possession of the Association; and he was instructed to deliver the same to the Commission for the purpose of marking the battle-field.

The action of Congress in providing for the maintenance of the Gettysburg battle-field as developed by the Memorial Association brought the labors of that organization to a close, and August 21, 1894, a committee was appointed to consider the feasibility of transferring to the United States Government the property belonging to the Association. This committee, October 3, 1894, reported in favor of such a transfer, and the assent of the stockholders of the Association was requested. This assent was promptly obtained, and the Association at its final meeting, held May 22, 1895, adopted resolutions instructing its officers to execute, under the corporate seal of the Association, deeds of conveyance to the United States Government of all lands owned by the Association, and all rights of way and easements belonging to it. At the same time the Association requested the Legislature of Pennsylvania to pass, and the Governor of the State to approve, an act vesting in the United States Government joint

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jurisdiction with the commonwealth over such lands as may be necessary for a national park at Gettysburg.

The following resolution also was adopted: "Resolved, That the Board express its grateful appreciation of the generous support accorded the Association by the several States, by their appropriations to it, and by the erection of appropriate monuments to mark the positions upon the field of their several organizations."

Between the years 1864 and 1895, the Association had received the following sums:

From the sale of certificates of stock . . .	\$9,875.59
From various States by appropriation . . .	96,490.00
From the officers and men at Fort Snelling . . .	125.00
From the survivors of Cushing's Battery . . .	25.00
From the 2d Maryland Confederate Infantry . . .	60.00

Making a total of \$106,575.59

All of this \$106,575.59 "was expended in the purchase, restoration, improvement, and maintenance of the grounds. Less than \$10,000 was spent in salaries and like expenses; the only salary being that of \$1,000 per annum for the last few years to the superintendent, and the salary of \$100 per annum to the secretary, except for three years when he received \$400 per annum."¹

¹ *Gettysburg: A History of the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association*, p. 261. By John M. Vanderslice. Published by the Memorial Association.

The land transferred by the Association to the United States Government amounted to about six hundred acres, on which the Association had constructed about seventeen miles of roads and avenues. It had also supervised the erection of three hundred and twenty monuments, the expense of these monuments being borne by the States represented in the battle.

It was a noble work that had been performed, and all those who had a part in it during those thirty-one years of its existence are entitled to lasting remembrance.¹

The whole amount of money expended by the States on the Gettysburg battle-field, in connection with the work of the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association, was \$835,625.55.²

¹ See Appendix A.

² See Appendix A.

CHAPTER II

WORK OF THE NATIONAL PARK COMMISSION

THE Gettysburg National Park Commission, authorized by an act of Congress approved March 3, 1893, was appointed by the Secretary of War, Hon. Daniel S. Lamont, May 25, 1893. The appointees were Lieut.-Col. John P. Nicholson, of Pennsylvania, Mr. John B. Bachelder, of Massachusetts, and Brig.-Gen. William H. Forney of Alabama. In a letter addressed to Lieut.-Col. Nicholson, May 29th following, the Secretary of War suggested that the Commission should establish its principal office at Gettysburg. "As to the general policy of the Commission," wrote the Secretary, "I have to request that its immediate work shall be directed to the preservation of the lines and evidences of battle, and that no plan shall be entered upon involving the outlay of money which would in its execution exceed the limit of the present appropriation. I believe that the practice hitherto pursued by the Battle-field Memorial Association of purchasing strips and small parcels of land rather than large areas should

continue to prevail unless Congress otherwise directs.

“In view of the fact that the positions of the various organizations of the Union and Confederate armies have already been determined with substantial accuracy, it is not believed that many questions will arise as to which there is likely to be serious difference of opinion. Should differences arise, however, in regard to the acquisition or ownership of land, the position of troops, or any other subject of importance, it is my desire that they be so carefully and exhaustively considered, from all points of view, as to result in a unanimous recommendation on the part of the Commission.

“In conclusion, I venture to express the hope that the work entrusted to your hands will be brought to an early and satisfactory conclusion, and that the lines occupied by both armies in that battle will be so permanently marked as to enable the important and decisive operations conducted there to be clearly seen and understood, and the field preserved in all its essential features.”

The act of Congress authorizing the Commission placed at its disposal the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars “for the purpose of preserving the lines of battle at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and for properly marking with tablets the positions occupied by the various commands of the

**ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA
LONGSTREET'S CORPS MCLAWS'S DIVISION**

**WOFFORD'S BRIGADE
16TH 18TH 24TH REGIMENTS COBB'S AND
PHILLIPS LEGIONS GEORGIA INFANTRY**

JULY 2 ARRIVED AT 4 P. M. AND FORMED LINE 100 YARDS WEST OF THIS ORDERED TO THE FRONT ABOUT 6 P. M. AND ADVANCING SOON AFTERWARD ALONG THE WHEATFIELD ROAD FLANKED THE UNION FORCES ASSAILING THE LOOP AND AIDED THE CONFEDERATES THEREBY RELIEVED IN DRIVING THEM BACK THROUGH THE WHEATFIELD TO THE FOOT OF LITTLE ROUND TOP ASSAILED THERE BY A STRONG BODY OF FRESH TROOPS AND RECEIVING AT THE SAME MOMENT AN ORDER TO WITHDRAW THE BRIGADE FELL BACK AT SUNSET TO THE GROVE WEST OF THE WHEATFIELD

JULY 3 ONE REGIMENT WAS LEFT ON OUTPOST DUTY IN THAT GROVE THE OTHERS SUPPORTED ARTILLERY ON PEACH ORCHARD RIDGE ALL WITHDREW LATE IN THE AFTERNOON

JULY 4 IN LINE HERE ALL DAY AT MIDNIGHT BEGAN THE MARCH TO HAGERSTOWN PRESENT ABOUT 1350 KILLED 36 WOUNDED 207 MISSING 112 TOTAL 355

Brigade Tablet—Confederate.

armies of the Potomac and of Northern Virginia on that field, and for opening and improving avenues along the positions occupied by troops upon those lines, and for fencing the same, and for determining the leading tactical positions of batteries, regiments, brigades, divisions, corps, and other organizations with reference to the study and correct understanding of the battle, and to mark the same with suitable tablets, each bearing a brief historical legend, compiled without praise and without censure."

One of the first acts of the chairman of the Commission was the selection of a topographical engineer. Lieut.-Col. E. B. Cope was called to the position—a position for which he had ample qualifications, and in which he has performed the most valuable service. His first work was to establish a meridian, which in all the surveys since the war had not been done. The datum point of reference was the centre of the square in the town of Gettysburg, and a meridian line was established on the high ground of the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association, near Hancock Avenue. Using this meridian as a base of operations many miles of backsight transit lines were at once run on various parts of the field.

Early attention was given by the Commissioners to an examination of Seminary Ridge with refer-

ence to the laying out of an avenue that should make accessible the line occupied by the Confederate forces on that ridge during the greater part of the second and third days' battle, the ridge affording a view of the entire Union line from Cemetery Hill to the Round Tops. Along this line, and in rear of it, there remained many traces of Confederate breastworks, and in all cases where stone walls were found, that had been used for defensive purposes, they were included in the proposed avenue, now known as Confederate Avenue. Other avenues having reference to Confederate lines were also surveyed. Various tracts of land on which were the remains of breastworks, and properties at important parts of the battle-field, were carefully surveyed. An area of about one and a half square miles, in the vicinity of the Springs Hotel, received especial attention, the object being to map that territory to the minutest detail, including the projected Confederate avenues.

In entering upon their work the Commissioners found important lines of battle occupied by an electric railway, the construction of which was begun in April, 1893. So objectionable was this occupation deemed by the Commission that an effort was commenced for the removal of the railway. In this effort the Commissioners had the hearty support of the Secretary of War,



Cross-Section, Telford Avenue Foundation.

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and the effort resulted in the suspension of the work.

One incident connected with the opening of the work of the Commission was the visit, August 23, 1893, of an excursion party from Winchester, Va. Many of the party, Confederate veterans, members of the Stonewall Brigade, had participated in the battle of Gettysburg. The Commissioners accompanied them to various parts of the field, and noted and marked positions which they occupied at the time of the battle. In this way these veterans gave the Commissioners valuable assistance, in which they have had many followers in subsequent years.

The scheme for the complete and exhaustive topographical study of the battle-field, begun in 1893, was continued in 1894, in order to have an accurate and complete instrumental survey of the entire field. The work of constructing proposed avenues was commenced. The Telford system of road-building was adopted, and so satisfactory did the system prove that it has been retained in all later construction.

Several important properties needed for the construction of proposed avenues were now secured. All efforts to induce the Gettysburg Electric Railroad to vacate the lines of battle in what is known as the Loop, the Devil's Den, and

through the Valley of Death having failed, the Commissioners requested the Secretary of War to undertake condemnation proceedings, and these were commenced. As the result of these proceedings, damages to the amount of thirty thousand dollars were awarded to the electric company; but the company appealed, considering the award inadequate, and the Commissioners, with the approval of the Secretary of War, also appealed, on the ground that the award was excessive and detrimental to the best interests of the United States.

On August 11, 1894, General Lewis, Colonel Tate, and Colonel Keenan, of North Carolina, visited the battle-field and located the position of many of the North Carolina troops. General Harry Heth, of Longstreet's command, also visited the field about the same time and located the position of the two batteries of his division, from which the first shots were fired that opened the battle on the morning of July 1st. On October 30th a committee of the Seventh West Virginia Infantry located their battle-line on the Pfeffer property, near Ziegler's Grove.

General Forney, the Confederate member of the Commission, died at his home in Jacksonville, Ala., January 16, 1894. Major William M. Robbins, of Statesville, N. C., whose service during

the war was with the Fourth Alabama, was made his successor.

By an act of Congress, approved February 11, 1895, the Secretary of War was authorized to receive from the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association a deed of conveyance to the United States of the lands belonging to the Association, together with all rights of way over avenues through these lands, and all improvements made upon it, and the Secretary was authorized to pay to the Association the sum of two thousand dollars, or so much thereof as might be necessary, to discharge the debts of the Association. As soon as this conveyance should take place the Secretary of War was directed to take possession of the lands thus acquired, or afterward acquired, the whole to be designated and known as the "Gettysburg National Park."

In the act, the duty of the Commissioners was stated as follows: "To superintend the opening of such additional roads as may be necessary for the purposes of the park and for the improvement of the avenues heretofore laid out therein, and properly to mark the boundaries of the said park, and to ascertain and definitely mark the lines of battle of all troops engaged in the battle of Gettysburg, so far as the same shall fall within the limits of the park."

By this act the Secretary of War was authorized and directed to acquire, at such time and in such manner as might seem to him best calculated to serve the public interest, such lands in the vicinity of Gettysburg as were occupied by the infantry, cavalry, and artillery on the first, second, and third days of July, 1863, and such other adjacent lands as he might deem necessary to preserve the important topographical features of the battle-field; not, however, to prejudice the rights acquired by any State or by any military organization to the ground on which its monuments or markers are placed, or the right of way to the same.

The act appropriated the sum of five thousand dollars for a suitable bronze tablet, containing on it the address delivered by Abraham Lincoln at the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, November 19, 1863, also on it a medallion likeness of Mr. Lincoln; and the Secretary of War was directed to have the tablet erected on the most suitable site within the limits of the park.¹

For carrying out the general purposes of the act, that is, for opening, improving, and repairing necessary roads and avenues, providing surveys and maps, suitably marking the boundaries of the park, and for the pay and expenses of the Commis-

¹ This has not yet (1906) been erected.



Tower on Confederate Avenue.

sioners and their assistants, Congress appropriated the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars.

The work of constructing avenues and roads was continued by the Commission in 1895. Two bridges were built over Plum Run, one on United States Avenue, the other on Confederate Avenue. Four steel towers, also, were erected according to a design prepared by Colonel Cope: namely, one on Big Round Top, one on Seminary Ridge near the Wheatfield road, one on Seminary Ridge near the Mummasburg road, overlooking the scene of the first day's fight; and one on the summit of Culp's Hill. These towers added greatly to the facilities provided by the Commissioners for an intelligent study of the Gettysburg battle-field.

The foundation for the equestrian statue of Maj.-Gen. W. S. Hancock was completed September 23, 1895, and the statue was erected soon after. It was dedicated June 5, 1896. This was the first equestrian statue erected upon the Gettysburg battle-field. The equestrian statue of General Meade was erected very soon after that of General Hancock, and it was dedicated on the same day as the Hancock statue.

The volunteer batteries of the Union army were generally represented at this time by a single cannon mounted upon inferior carriages. The Commission now substituted an improved

iron gun-carriage, resting upon granite foundation stones. Such carriages also were provided for cannon to mark the position of Confederate batteries.

The position of the various commands of the Army of the Potomac had been determined and marked for the most part by the Memorial Association. Those of the Army of Northern Virginia remained for the Commissioners to ascertain and locate. Surviving Confederate officers and soldiers were invited to visit Gettysburg, and the governors of States in the South were requested to send commissioners representing Confederate commands to aid the park Commissioners in this work. The responses from the South to these invitations were exceedingly gratifying.

Seminary Avenue was completed in 1896; also that part of Seminary Avenue running from the Chambersburg pike southward along Seminary Ridge as far as the government then owned the right of way; also Hancock Avenue which runs from the National Cemetery gate southward along the main Union line of battle to the east end of United States Avenue; also Sickles Avenue, which runs from the Emmittsburg road southeastward, via the Loop and the Wheatfield, to the Devil's Den. Slocum Avenue, which follows the battle-lines over Culp's Hill, was at this time

in course of construction and nearly completed.

In their annual report for 1896 the Commissioners say: "Handsome tablets of iron, not only for each battery, but also for each command of infantry and cavalry, will stand along the main lines of battle, with brief inscriptions specifying the name of each command, its service in the battle, and referring to auxiliary and subordinate tablets so placed as to indicate successive movements during the conflict. Much thought has been given to the preparation of these tablets and their inscriptions for the Confederate commands, so as to arrive at the utmost possible historic accuracy with regard to each one as well as perfect consistency and fairness among them as a whole. This is a work requiring great deliberation and painstaking, but we hope to accomplish it satisfactorily."

At this time the Commissioners announced the erection of a fifth steel tower. This was placed near the centre of the field in Ziegler's Grove, and not far from the point where the battle ended with the gallant but unsuccessful charge made by Pickett's and other commands on the afternoon of the third day.

In 1897, Sedgwick, Sykes, and Meade avenues were constructed. Sedgwick Avenue leads from the southern end of Hancock Avenue to the

northern base of Little Round Top, following the Sixth Corps line, and continues on until it connects with Confederate Avenue on the western slope of Big Round Top. Meade Avenue leads from General Meade's headquarters on the Taneytown road to Hancock Avenue, at the point where the Confederate assault of the third day culminated. That part of Crawford Avenue which leads from the Devil's Den northward through the Valley of Death to the Wheatfield road, including a bridge over Plum Run, was also completed, and Hancock Avenue was widened to one hundred feet by purchasing the necessary ground on each side, a much-needed improvement. Among the other avenues which were still rough, narrow, and unsightly ways, scarcely passable, were Wright Avenue, leading from the gap between the Round Tops, southeasterly across the Taneytown road, along the line of the left division of the Sixth Corps; Pleasonton Avenue, from Hancock Avenue eastward by the cavalry headquarters to the Taneytown road; and the return avenue on Culp's Hill, from Spangler's Spring westward along the southern base of that hill, marking the battle-line where the Union forces formed in the early morning of July 3d, and advanced for the recovery of their position captured by the Confederates the evening before. Reynolds, Buford,



Bryan House.

Hancock Avenue Looking North.

Meade Statue.

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and Howard avenues, along the lines of the first day's fight, were still only dirt roads, and there was urgent need of a new avenue leading from the southeastern base of Culp's Hill across Rock Creek to the extreme right flank of the Union and left flank of the Confederate forces. Indeed, up to 1898, the attention of the Commission was given very largely to the roads and avenues connected with the movements on the second and third days' battle-fields.

Attention was now directed to the roads and avenues connected with the operations of July 1st. Howard Avenue, which leads from the Harrisburg road, near Rock Creek, westward by Barlow's Knoll to the Mummasburg road, was completed, and Reynolds Avenue was completed in the following spring. On Confederate Avenue there still remained a gap of two miles along the right of Hill's and the left of Longstreet's position. This the Commission wished to construct, thus completing Confederate Avenue from the Chambersburg pike northwest of the town southward and eastward to Big Round Top, a distance of five miles. The owners of the land asked such exorbitant prices for it, however, that the Secretary of War and the Commission did not feel justified in meeting their demands. Accordingly proceedings with reference to condemnation

were commenced; but vexatious delays and continuances were resorted to, and it was not until 1900 that the necessary land on Seminary Ridge for the completion of Confederate Avenue was secured.

The two parts of Sickles Avenue previously disconnected were united in 1899 by constructing an avenue eleven hundred feet in length along what is known as the Wheatfield road, which was a public highway when Sickles Avenue was made, and so could not be occupied and improved as a battle-field avenue. This difficulty had now been obviated by an act of the Pennsylvania Legislature ceding jurisdiction of all such roads to the United States, and an act of Congress authorizing the Secretary of War to improve such of these roads as in his discretion might be deemed needful. Sickles Avenue was now made continuous, and follows, as near as the contour of the ground will permit, the entire line of the Third Army Corps from the Emmittsburg road near the Rogers house to the Devil's Den.

The equestrian statue of Maj.-Gen. John F. Reynolds, a gift of the State of Pennsylvania, was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies July 9, 1899.

In the same year an avenue, known as East Confederate Avenue, extending from the eastern border of the town across the intervening fields



Confederate Avenue. (Confederate cannon in position.)

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to Culp's Hill, and around the base of that hill to Spangler's Spring, was completed. Nearly a mile and a half long, and twenty feet wide, it follows substantially the battle-line of Ewell's corps, at its southeastern terminus joining Slocum Avenue, which marks the line of the Twelfth Corps along the summit of Culp's Hill.

Reference has already been made to the mounted cannon on the battle-field when the Commission entered upon its work in 1893, and to the changes made in the carriages on which they rested. These cannon were not of the same calibre as those used in the battle. Not only were new carriages now substituted for the old, imperfect ones, but new guns, and many additional batteries, all of the same class and calibre as those used in the battle by each battery.

By the close of 1900 there were two hundred and twenty-five mounted guns on the battle-field, and the total number of monumental iron tablets with appropriate inscriptions had increased to three hundred and ten.

In order to preserve the natural features of the battle-field as they existed July 1-3, 1863, stone walls were rebuilt and the woods, cut off in the intervening years, were renewed, thousands of young trees being planted for this purpose. At the same time, great care was exercised in keeping

in good condition the trees in the Park that were standing in 1863.

In 1901, West Confederate Avenue, twenty feet wide and over two miles long, extending from the Hagerstown road near the Seminary southward along Seminary Ridge, following the Confederate line of battle on the second and third days, was completed. This now rendered accessible, for the first time, the ground on which the Confederate column was formed in preparation for Pickett's charge. The completion of this part of Confederate Avenue not only provided an easy way to the lines of the Confederate forces at that point, but it opened up a more satisfactory view of a large part of the battle-field, including some of the most important and interesting Union positions, thereby enabling the visitor, and especially the military critic, to study without great inconvenience, and better than before, the scene of the great conflict.

One very valuable part of the work of the engineer's department under Colonel Cope was the preparation of two large maps of the battle-field, on a scale of six hundred feet to the inch and embracing an area of seventeen square miles. These maps were completed in 1901. On one of these maps, showing the topography of the battle-field as it was in 1863, with accuracy in

every detail, the positions of the troops on both sides have since been marked for every hour of July 1st, 2d, and 3d, a copy of the map being used for each hour of the three days. The other map shows not only the topography in general, but the timber, fences, rocks, buildings, mounted guns, avenues, monuments, in short everything on the battle-field as it is at the present time.

Chamberlain and Warren avenues were added in 1902. The former runs southward from near the summit of Little Round Top along the crest of Vincent Spur and the battle-line of the Union troops in their defence of that position in the afternoon of July 2, 1863; and then, curving down the slope, connects with Sykes Avenue in the gap between Big Round Top and Little Round Top. Warren Avenue starts from Sykes Avenue at that same point, and runs westward along the base of Little Round Top to Plum Run Valley, and crossing that run joins Crawford Avenue near the Devil's Den.

At this time, also, the Commission could report that monumental tablets had been erected along Confederate Avenue on Seminary Ridge marking the positions of all the Confederate brigades that occupied the ridge, from the Wheatfield road on the right to the Hagerstown road on the left. These tablets, like all the other tablets on the

battle-field, are in dimensions three feet nine inches by two feet six inches, with carefully prepared inscriptions, cast in raised letters, describing the part taken in the battle by each brigade, and stating its numbers and losses so far as is ascertainable.

Nine itinerary tablets, at this time, had also been erected on East Cemetery Hill, along the Baltimore pike, describing the movements and positions of the Union army, and each of the commands composing it, on each day from June 29 to July 7, 1863.

On Seminary Ridge ten Confederate tablets also were now erected, recording the movements of the Confederate army and its several corps, divisions, and brigades on each day from June 26th, when the last of the Army of Northern Virginia crossed the Potomac into Maryland, until after the close of the battle and the retreat from Gettysburg, July 5, 1863.

Buford Avenue, extending from Reynolds Avenue northwestward to the Mummasburg road along the line of the Union cavalry, which threatened the left flank of the Confederate infantry on the forenoon of July 1st, and Stone Avenue, which runs along the line of the Bucktail Brigade from the Chambersburg pike to Reynolds woods, were completed in 1903.



Slocum Statue.

An equestrian statue of Maj.-Gen. Henry W. Slocum, erected by the State of New York, was dedicated September 19, 1903.

Additional purchases of land amounting to one hundred and ninety-four acres were made in 1904, and the total area of lands at Gettysburg then in possession of the United States Government was thirteen hundred and eighty acres, or about two and a half square miles.

In this year, eighty-one hundred trees were purchased by the Commission, and these, under the direction of S. B. Detwiler, field assistant of the United States Bureau of Forestry, were planted on Seminary Ridge, on United States land south of the McMillan woods, and southerly along the border of West Confederate Avenue to the Wheatfield road, a distance of nearly two miles; and on the Masonheimer land, south of United States Avenue.

By an act passed February 18, 1903, and a supplemental act approved March 12, 1905, Congress directed the Commission, subject to the supervision of the Secretary of War, to erect monuments and markers to the forty-two organizations of the Regular Army that participated in the battle at Gettysburg. An appropriation of sixty-three thousand dollars was made for this purpose, and the Secretary of War procured as

far as practicable the appointment of committees of the survivors of these organizations for the purpose of having the Commissioners consult with them and, with the approval of the Secretary of War, determine the designs and positions of these markers and monuments, and the inscriptions to be placed upon them. The meeting of the committee and the Commissioners was held at Gettysburg, October 17 and 18, 1905.

Major William M. Robbins, the Confederate member of the Commission, who had served continuously since his appointment in March, 1894, died May 1, 1905, and Maj.-Gen. J. J. Lomax, of Virginia, was made his successor. Major Robbins had become widely known in connection with the work of the Commission, and he had a large circle of friends in the survivors of both armies.

In the autumn of 1904, four thousand one hundred trees were planted in the open spaces in what were known as Pitzer's woods, Biesecker's woods, and Masonheimer's field.

"A few small tracts of land," say the Commissioners in their report for 1905, amounting to about thirty-six acres, are needed to connect avenues, especially the main field with the cavalry field, east of the town. A wooded tract of seventy acres, known as Powers Hill, is also needed to preserve the topographical features of the field,

and to mark the headquarters of General Slocum during the battle, and the positions of two batteries and a regiment of infantry.”

In this report, the Commissioners suggested that markers be placed to indicate the farthest and most important advances of the Confederate brigades in the attack on the Union positions during July 1st, 2d, and 3d. The tablets on the Confederate avenues give condensed itineraries only showing where the Confederate forces started from. The markers suggested will show the points reached, and give an outline history of the field of attack. The advanced positions of the Union regiments are now marked by monuments and markers which have been erected by the various States.

Colonel E. A. Garlington, Inspector-General, U. S. A., made an inspection of the work of the Commission near the close of 1904. In his report he says: “Since July, 1893, there have been constructed twenty miles of Telford avenues; thirteen and one half miles of avenue fencing, built of locust posts and gas-pipe rails; twelve and one half miles of fencing built of posts and rails; thirteen miles of gutter paving. Five and one quarter miles of stone walls have been rebuilt at locations where stone walls existed at the time of the battle. Three hundred and twenty-four guns have been

mounted; four hundred and sixty-two tablets have been erected, and seventeen thousand and one hundred trees have been planted. The trees are planted on ground that was covered with trees at the time of the battle. All this work has been well done.

“The roads have been constructed on the Telford system; the roadbed, carefully graded and drained, was covered with a course of stone, paved by hand, consisting of hard stone eight to ten inches long, seven to eight inches wide, and four to six inches thick, and bowlders about the same size, set up on edge, thickest edge down, length across the road, and laid so as to break joints as much as possible, forming a rough, irregular pavement, eight inches thick over the whole roadbed, the joints between the stones being chinked and knapped with smaller stones and stone chips driven in, projecting points above eight inches being knocked off with a hammer.

“A course of stones twelve inches high, twelve to eighteen inches long, six to eight inches thick, is laid at the sides of the subgrade. This foundation is covered to a depth of five inches in the centre, and four inches at the sides, with broken stone, one and one half inches dimensions. This is rolled by a thirteen-ton roller at least five times after being sprinkled. One half inch of clay is then

spread over this layer, which is then covered with two inches of granite screenings, three-fourths-inch size, which is sprinkled and rolled five times; finally, over this a half inch of fine limestone screenings is evenly spread over the entire surface, sprinkled and rolled at least ten times.

“Some of these roads have been in use ten years and show very little signs of wear; in fact, they are as good as when first completed. The average cost of these roads has been about seventy-three and one half cents per square yard—something over eight thousand dollars a mile. With proper care and maintenance they will last indefinitely. The guttering along these roads now being constructed under the supervision of the chief engineer by day labor is an improvement over that first put down by the contract system. It is of excellent quality and should endure for a long time.

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“I thoroughly inspected the roads, avenues, and the park generally, both on the infantry field and on the cavalry field. The roads, fences, monuments, woodlands, and shrubbery are in good condition, and the entire park, as observed, was well policed and free from rubbish and other disfiguring elements. The character of the work done and the general conditions showed a very intelligent and thorough system as to construction,

care, and maintenance. I have nothing to suggest in the way of improvements upon the methods and systems of the Commission. It appears to me that they have accomplished a great work, one of the principal features being the extreme care taken to ascertain the positions held by the various commands participating in the great battle fought there. There can be no doubt that the positions thus far marked are accurate and trustworthy."

The date of the 1905 report of the Commission is June 30th. During the remainder of the year additional work was completed as follows: a steel bridge, sixty feet in length, spanning the cut for the Western railroad on Reynolds Avenue; three additional avenues, namely, North Confederate Avenue, 2365 feet long, Colgrove and Carman Avenue, 1794 feet long, and an extension of Doubleday Avenue, 720 feet long; a total of 4879 feet. Ten additional gun-carriages were provided; also additional tablets making a total of 502 now on the battle-field. There were also provided additional guttering, avenue fencing, and post fencing. At the close of 1905 the amount of land in possession of the United States at Gettysburg, including the National Cemetery, was 1686 and $\frac{25}{100}$ acres.

The work of the Gettysburg National Park Commission has been of the most substantial and



Finished Avenue with Paved Guttering.

enduring kind throughout. Intelligence and sound judgment have characterized alike its plans and the execution of those plans during the past thirteen years. All this time Colonel Nicholson has stood at the head of the Commission. Into its work he has put himself—his intense patriotism, his business sagacity, and his indomitable energy and perseverance. No other position, however exalted, has been able to secure his services. Great singleness of purpose and a lofty consecration have characterized his entire connection with the Commission. He has had able assistants in the associate Commissioners. Major Richardson, who succeeded Mr. Bachelder in 1895, is still a member of the Commission, giving to its work his thorough, accurate, painstaking knowledge of all matters pertaining to the battle and the position of the contesting forces during the battle. The death of Major Robbins, in 1905, brought to an end a service in which, with admirable tact and spirit, he represented upon the Commission, and in his intercourse with visitors, the Army of Northern Virginia. General Lomax, who has taken his place, has as heartily and loyally entered into his labors.

There can be no mention of the work of the Commission which does not include a reference to the work of the chief engineer, Colonel Cope, and his assistants, Mr. S. Augustine Hammond

and Mr. H. W. Mattern. Colonel Cope's topographical work upon the Gettysburg battle-field was commenced by order of General Meade in August, 1863, when the field was in the condition in which it was left at the time of the battle. The fine map then made by a party of topographical engineers from the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, under the supervision of Colonel Cope, has been followed by the splendid relief map, fourteen feet long by ten and a half feet wide, representing twenty-four square miles, or substantially the entire battle-field, with all its features of hill and valley, field and forest, roads, buildings, streams, bridges—everything in fact as it existed at the time of the battle. This map, and other exhibits of the work of Colonel Cope's department, received merited attention and commendation at the St. Louis Exposition.

The appropriations of Congress for the work of the Commission have been as follows:

1893	.	.	.	\$25,000	1900	.	.	.	\$75,000
1894	.	.	.	50,000	1901	.	.	.	80,000
1895	.	.	.	75,000	1902	.	.	.	75,000
1896	.	.	.	50,000	1903	.	.	.	60,000
1897	.	.	.	50,000	1904	.	.	.	60,000
1898	.	.	.	50,000	1905	.	.	.	57,000
1899	.	.	.	69,922.50	1906	.	.	.	72,000 ¹

¹ Reported by Committee on Sundry Civil Bill.

The money thus appropriated, amounting to \$848,922.50, has been wisely expended. Certainly no one can have gone over the Gettysburg battle-field in recent years without many expressions of admiration for the substantial results which these appropriations have secured in enlarging the area of the lands received from the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association, in preserving the prominent features of the battle-ground, in making it easily accessible in all its parts, and in carefully, accurately indicating the position of the forces engaged. The appropriations made by Congress have been generous, it is true, but they have been fully justified by the results already reached.

And what has now been secured is a guarantee that the work that yet remains to be done will be executed with the same fidelity and devotion to the national interest that has characterized the work of the Commission to the present time. The future of the battle-field has been made secure; and when the Commissioners have completed their labors, a small annual appropriation will be ample for its further care and maintenance.

APPENDIX A

GETTYSBURG BATTLE-FIELD MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

DIRECTORS FROM 1872 TO 1880

Gen. John W. Geary, Gov. of Penn., President	1872
David McConaughy, Gettysburg, Vice- President	1872-1897
Henry C. Carey, Esq., Philadelphia	1872-1879
Gen. J. Watts De Peyster, New York	1872-1879
Wm. M. Hirsh, Gettysburg	1872-1879
Hon. A. D. Heister, Pennsylvania	1872-1874
Joel B. Danner, Gettysburg	1872-1874
George Arnold, Gettysburg	1872-1879
Alexander D. Buehler, Gettysburg	1872-1879
Charles Horner, M.D., Gettysburg	1872-1879
J. Lawrence Schick, Esq., Gettysburg	1872-1879
John M. Krauth, Esq., Gettysburg	1872-1879
Edward Souder, Gettysburg	1872-1873
H. N. McAllister, Esq., Gettysburg	1872
Gen. Charles K. Graham, New York	1873-1879
Gen. John F. Hartranft, Gov. of Penn., President	1873-1878
Gen. Alexander S. Webb, New York	1873-1879
Gen. Horatio G. Sickel, Pennsylvania	1874-1879
Hon. Edward McPherson, Gettysburg	1875
R. G. McCreary, Esq., Gettysburg	1876-1879

Gettysburg Memorial Association 191

DIRECTORS FROM THE REORGANIZATION IN 1880.

Gen. Henry M. Hoyt, Gov. of Penn., President	1879-1882
R. G. McCreary, Esq., Gettysburg, Vice- President	1880-1883
John M. Krauth, Esq., Gettysburg, Secretary from 1872 to time of decease in 1890	1880-1887
Gen W. S. Hancock, Pennsylvania .	1880-1884
Gen. S. W. Crawford, Pennsylvania .	1880-1892
Gen. Louis Wagner, Philadelphia .	1880-1896
John M. Vanderslice, Esq., Philadelphia, 1880-1882, 1884-1896	
Maj. C. W. Hazzard, Pennsylvania 1880-1882, 1884-1896	
Capt. John Taylor, Philadelphia .	1880-1884
Col. Charles H. Buehler, Gettysburg, Vice-President from 1887 to 1896 .	1880-1896
J. L. Schick, Treasurer from 1880 to 1896	1880-1896
Maj. Robert Bell, Gettysburg . .	1880-1886
Charles Horner, M.D., Gettysburg .	1880-1887
N. G. Wilson, Gettysburg, Superin- tendent of Grounds from 1880 to 1894	1880-1886
John B. Bachelder, Mass. 1880-1881, 1883-1894	
Robert E. Pattison, Gov. of Penn., President	1883-1886, 1891-1894
Gen. Joshua L. Chamberlain, Maine .	1883
Gen. John C. Robinson, New York .	1883
Gen. George Stannard, Vermont .	1883

William S. Holtzworth, Gettysburg .	1884-1888
D. A. Buehler, Gettysburg, Vice-President	1883-1887
Col. Eli G. Sellers, Philadelphia . .	1885
Col. W. W. Dudley, Indiana . .	1885
Gen. Henry A. Barnum, New York .	1885-1891
Col. Frank D. Sloat, Connecticut . .	1885-1896
Col. Elisha H. Rhodes, Rhode Island .	1885-1887
Gen. Byron R. Pierce, Michigan . .	1885-1887
John C. Linehan, New Hampshire .	1885-1896
Col. Charles L. Young, Ohio . .	1885-1896
Col. Silas Colgrove, Indiana . .	1886-1887
Gen. Lucius Fairchild, Wisconsin .	1886-1896
Gen. James A. Beaver, Gov. of Penn., President	1887-1890
Capt. Wm. E. Miller, Pennsylvania .	1887-1892
Calvin Hamilton, Gettysburg, Secretary from 1890 to 1896	1887-1890
Capt. H. W. Knight, D.D., Gettysburg .	1887-1896
Captain John P. Rea, Minnesota .	1888
Col. Wheelock G. Veazey, Vermont .	1888-1896
Col. George C. Briggs, Michigan . .	1888-1896
William A. Kitzmiller, Gettysburg .	1888-1896
Hon. S. McSwope, Gettysburg . .	1888-1896
Hon. Edward McPherson, Gettysburg .	1889-1896
Gen. Henry W. Slocum, New York .	1889-1894
Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, New York .	1892-1896
Gen. Joseph B. Carr, New York . .	1892-1893
C. E. Goldsborough, M.D., Gettysburg	1892-1896
Gen. David McM. Gregg, Pennsylvania	1893-1896

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Gen. Alexander S. Webb, New York	1893-1896
Gen. Daniel S. Hastings, Gov. of Penn., President	1895-1896
Col. John P. Nicholson, Philadelphia	1895-1896
Gen. George S. Greene, New York	1895-1896

STATE EXPENDITURES AT GETTYSBURG

MAINE

1887. Resolves making provisions for monuments, purchasing land, and improving the same, includ- ing appropriation of \$2500.00 to the Memorial Association	\$15,000.00
1889. Maine Gettysburg Commission	10,000.00
1891. High-Water Mark monument	500.00
1891. Changing flanking stone, 5th Maine Battery, Seminary Ridge	25.00
1891. 5th Maine Regiment, change lo- cation, etc.	150.00
1891. 17th Maine Regiment, tablet	300.00
1891. Expenses of the Executive Com- mittee	700.00
1891. Printing, binding, etc., report of Commission	3,600.00
Total	<hr/> \$30,300.00

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1886. Appropriation to the Gettysburg Memorial Association	\$1,000.00
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1886.	For monuments, 2d, 5th and 12th Regiments	\$1,500.00
1886.	Appropriation for monument, New Hampshire companies 1st and 2d U.S Sharpshooters .	500.00
1886.	Appropriation for repairs to above monuments	1,000.00
1886.	Appropriation for monument at High-Water Mark	500.00
Total		<hr/> \$4,500.00

VERMONT

1888.	Appropriation to the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Associa- tion	\$ 1,500.00
1888.	Appropriation for State monu- ment and statue	11,750.00
1888.	Appropriation towards the 1st Cavalry monument	1,000.00
1888.	Appropriation towards the 1st Brigade monument	1,303.00
1888.	Appropriation towards Company F's (1st U. S. Sharpshooters) monument	1,200.00
1888.	Appropriation for additional work on tablets	400.00
Total		<hr/> \$17,953.00

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MASSACHUSETTS

1883.	For the payment to the Gettysburg Memorial Association for the purchase of additional ground	\$ 5,000.00
1884.	For the payment of \$500 each to the organizations of the State participating in the battle for the erection of monuments on the Gettysburg battle-field .	22,000.00
1885.	To the Massachusetts Mozart Association of the 40th New York Regiment for the erection of a monument	500.00
1888.	For flank stones to mark the positions of the Massachusetts regiments	1,200.00
1891.	For the erection of a large tablet commemorating the services of certain Massachusetts regiments	400.00
1891.	For the erection of a bronze tablet	500.00
1892.	To the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association to complete and care for the granite and bronze monument known as the High-Water Mark monument	400.00
Total		<hr/> \$30,000.00

RHODE ISLAND

1885.	To the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association for the purchase, care of grounds, etc.	\$1,000.00
1885.	For monuments to 2d Regiment, and Batteries A, B, and E	2,000.00
1891.	State contribution to High-Water Mark monument	400.00
Total		<hr/> \$3,400.00

CONNECTICUT

1885.	Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association for purchase of portion of the battle-ground	\$2,500.00
1888.	5th Regiment Connecticut Vol- unteers for monument	500.00
1889.	2d Light Battery Connecticut Volunteers for monument	500.00
1890.	27th Regiment Connecticut Vol- unteers for monument	1,000.00
1890.	17th Regiment Connecticut Vol- unteers for monument	1,000.00
1894.	Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association for High-Water Mark monument	200.00
Total		<hr/> \$5,700.00

Gettysburg Memorial Association 197

NEW YORK

1889.	For the erection of the State monument in the National Cemetery	\$50,000.00
1891.	Additional	10,000.00
1887.	For Regimental and Battery monuments	60,000.00
1888.	Additional	67,500.00
1889.	Additional	10,000.00
1889.	For the erection of tablets to Battery E. and 10th, 11th, and 14th Batteries	2,000.00
1885.	To the Memorial Association	10,000.00
1887.	Additional	10,000.00
1889.	For markers, sites and sodding	1,525.00
1891.	For the erection of a memorial bronze tablet under the supervision of the Memorial Association	2,400.00
1892.	For the completion of the same	1,000.00
1893.	Additional	400.00
Total		<hr/> \$224,825.00

NEW JERSEY

1886-7.	For Memorial Association	\$ 3,000.00
1886-7.	For regimental monuments	15,450.00
1886-7.	Individual contributions	5,305.00

1890. Monument of the 12th Regiment	\$1,000.00
1888. Expense of dedication of monuments, including the transportation and subsistence of soldiers who participated in the battle	19,500.00
Total	<hr/> \$44,225.00

PENNSYLVANIA

1867. For the purchase of portions of the battle-grounds, and general purpose of Memorial Association	\$ 3,000.00
1868. Additional	3,000.00
1881. Additional	10,000.00
1887. For marking the position of each of the Pennsylvania commands in the battle, being 1,500.00 for each command	121,000.00
1889. For purchase of land, etc.	20,000.00
1889. For the High-Water Mark monument	1,000.00
1889. Additional memorial tablets	4,500.00
1889. For transportation of all surviving soldiers residing in Pennsylvania who participated in the battle	50,000.00
1891. For printing and binding 38,000 copies of <i>Pennsylvania at Gettysburg</i>	43,877.22

Gettysburg Memorial Association 199

1891.	For publishing report of Commission.	\$3,000.00
1891.	For tablet of 21st Regiment of Pennsylvania Cavalry . . .	1,500.00
1891.	For monuments to Generals Meade, Reynolds and Hancock	100,000.00
1891.	For memorial to mark the position of the 26th Pennsylvania Emergency Regiment . . .	1,500.00
1891.	For expenses of Commission . . .	2,000.00
1893.	For maintaining and keeping in repair the battle-field . . .	5,000.00
1893.	For expenses of Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association . .	2,000.00
1893.	For keeping the Pennsylvania monuments in repair . . .	2,500.00
Total		\$374,377.22

DELAWARE

	For monuments of 1st and 2d Regiments	\$850.00
	For the purchase of sites of monuments, etc.	500.00
	For the expenses of Committee and state officers to select sites for monuments and attending dedication ceremonies . . .	650.00
1891.	For High-Water Mark monument	200.00
Total		\$2,200.00

The National Park

MARYLAND

1888. Appropriation for the erection of monuments and tablets	\$5,000.00
For the purchase of land upon which to erect the monuments and tablets	1,000.00
Total	<u>\$6,000.00</u>

WEST VIRGINIA

1892. Col. John. B. Bachelder	\$200.00
1893. Thomas C. Miller, Secretary	333.33
Total	<u>\$533.33</u>

OHIO

1885. For the purchase of land upon which to erect a monument to soldiers of Ohio who died at Gettysburg	\$ 5,000.00
1886. Supplementary	35,000.00
Total	<u>\$40,000.00</u>

INDIANA

1885. For the erection of monuments	\$3,000.00
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ILLINOIS

1889. For regimental monuments	\$5,000.00
1889. For the Memorial Association	1,000.00
Total	<u>\$6,000.00</u>

Gettysburg Memorial Association 201

MICHIGAN

1887. Memorial Association for ground.	\$ 2,500.00
1887. Michigan Cavalry Brigade monument	5,400.00
1887. Seven regiments of infantry, \$1,350.00 each	9,450.00
1887. Battery I, First Light Artillery .	1,000.00
1889. Expenses of dedication . . .	2,000.00
1889. Expenses of soldiers attending dedication	5,000.00
Total	<u>\$25,350.00</u>

WISCONSIN

1888. For the purchase of land . . .	\$1,500.00
1888. For monument to each of the six Wisconsin regiments	6,000.00
1888. Company G. 1st U. S. Sharp- shooters	500.00
Total	<u>\$8,000.00</u>

MINNESOTA

1873. Gettysburg Memorial Association	\$ 1,000.00
1893. Additional land	136.00
1893. Large monument and bronze work, 1st Regiment	16,384.00
1893. Small monument and bronze work, 1st Regiment	2,500.00
1893. Grading and sodding	92.00
1891. High-Water Mark monument .	200.00
Total	<u>\$20,312.00</u>

The whole amount contributed is as follows:

Maine	\$30,300.00
New Hampshire	4,500.00
Vermont	17,953.00
Massachusetts	30,000.00
Rhode Island	3,400.00
Connecticut	5,700.00
New York	224,825.00
New Jersey	44,225.00
Pennsylvania	374,377.22
Delaware	2,200.00
Maryland	6,000.00
West Virginia	533.33
Ohio	40,000.00
Indiana	3,000.00
Illinois	6,000.00
Michigan	25,350.00
Wisconsin	8,000.00
Minnesota	20,312.00
<hr/>	
Total	\$846,675.55

APPENDIX B

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, May 25, 1893.

Order No.—

Colonel John P. Nicholson of Pennsylvania, Colonel John B. Bachelder of Massachusetts, and General William H. Forney of Alabama are appointed a Commission, under the authority given by Act of Congress approved March 3, 1893, and they are directed to take such immediate steps as the laws permit to preserve the lines of battle at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and to report to the Secretary of War on or before July 20th, next, a definite plan for executing, within the limits of the appropriation, the further provisions of that law relative to the Gettysburg Battle-field.

DANIEL S. LAMONT,
Secretary of War.

APPENDIX C

WASHINGTON, May 29th, 1893.

COL. JOHN P. NICHOLSON,
Gettysburg Battle-field Commission.

SIR: Since by the terms of the act making provision for the preservation of the features of the Gettysburg battle-field the work is to be done under the direction of the Secretary of War, I have to suggest that the Commission, at its meeting on Wednesday, the 31st instant, should organize by the election of a president, who shall be its principal executive officer, not only in its recommendations and communications to the Department, but also in its business transactions and dealings with the public. In addition to this he should approve all vouchers for expenditures which are submitted to the Department for payment.

It is my judgment that the Commission should establish its principal office at Gettysburg, and that it should transact its business at that point. To that end you are hereby authorized to hire suitable office rooms in the town of Gettysburg, the lease of which shall become effective from July 1st, proximo. As it is probable that you will find some clerical and technical assistance necessary in the prosecution of your work, you will please submit such recommenda-

Gettysburg Memorial Association 205

tions in reference thereto as you may find necessary in the public interests. Authority is hereby granted for the purchase of office furniture not exceeding \$250 in cost, and for the purchase in open market of such instruments and surveying material as may be necessary for the preliminary location of the lines of battle. You are also authorized to procure from the Supply Division of the War Department and from the Government Printing Office on proper requisitions such stationery and blank forms as may be necessary for official purposes.

As to the general policy of the Commission, I have to request that its immediate work shall be directed to the preservation of the lines and evidences of battle, and that no plan shall be entered upon involving the outlay of money which would in its execution exceed the limit of the present appropriation. I believe that the practice hitherto pursued by the Battle-field Memorial Association of purchasing strips and small parcels of land rather than large areas should continue to prevail unless Congress otherwise directs.

In view of the fact that the positions of the various organizations of the Union and Confederate armies have already been determined with substantial accuracy, it is not believed that many questions will arise as to which there is likely to be serious difference of opinion. Should differences arise, however, in regard to the acquisition or ownership of land, the position of troops, or any other subject of importance,

it is my desire that they be so carefully and exhaustively considered, from all points of view, as to result in a unanimous recommendation on the part of the Commission.

In conclusion, I venture to express the hope that the work entrusted to your hands will be brought to an early and satisfactory conclusion.

Very respectfully,

DANIEL S. LAMONT,

Secretary of War.

APPENDIX D

AN ACT TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL MILITARY PARK AT GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized to receive from the Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association, a corporation chartered by the State of Pennsylvania, a deed of conveyance to the United States of all the lands belonging to said association, embracing about eight hundred acres, more or less, and being a considerable part of the battle-field of Gettysburg, together with all rights of way over avenues through said lands acquired by said association, and all improvements made by it in and upon the same. Upon the due execution and delivery to the Secretary of War of such deed of conveyance, the Secretary of War is authorized to pay to the said Battle-field Memorial Association the sum of two thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary to discharge the debts of said association, the amount of such debts to be verified by the officers thereof, and the sum of two thousand dollars is hereby appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated to meet and defray such charges.

SEC. 2. That as soon as the lands aforesaid shall be conveyed to the United States the Secretary of War shall take possession of the same, and such other lands on the battle-field as the United States have acquired, or shall hereafter acquire, by purchase or condemnation proceedings; and the lands aforesaid shall be designated and known as the "Gettysburg National Park."

SEC. 3. That the Gettysburg National Park shall, subject to the supervision and direction of the Secretary of War, be in charge of the Commissioners heretofore appointed by the Secretary of War for the location and acquisition of lands at Gettysburg, and their successors; the said Commissioners shall have their office at Gettysburg, and while on duty shall be paid such compensation out of the appropriation provided in this act as the Secretary of War shall deem reasonable and just. And it shall be the duty of the said Commissioners, under the direction of the Secretary of War, to superintend the opening of such additional roads as may be necessary for the purposes of the park and for the improvement of the avenues heretofore laid out therein, and to properly mark the boundaries of the said park, and to ascertain and definitely mark the lines of battle of all troops engaged in the battle of Gettysburg, so far as the same shall fall within the limits of the park.

SEC. 4. That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to acquire, at such times and in such manner as he may deem best calculated to

serve the public interest, such lands in the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, not exceeding in area the parcels shown on the map prepared by Major-General Daniel E. Sickles, United States Army, and now on file in the office of the Secretary of War, which were occupied by the infantry, cavalry and artillery on the first, second and third days of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, and such other adjacent lands as he may deem necessary to preserve the important topographical features of the battle-field; *Provided*, That nothing contained in this act shall be deemed and held to prejudice the rights acquired by any State or by any military organization to the ground on which its monuments or markers are placed, nor the right of way to the same.

SEC. 5. That for the purpose of acquiring the lands designated and described in the foregoing section not already acquired and owned by the United States and such other adjacent land as may be deemed necessary by the Secretary of War for the preservation, and marking of the lines of battle of the Union and Confederate armies at Gettysburg, the Secretary of War is authorized to employ the services of the Commissioners heretofore appointed by him for the location, who shall proceed, in conformity with his instructions and subject in all things to his approval, to acquire such lands by purchase, or by condemnation proceedings, to be taken by the Attorney-General in behalf of the United States, in any case in which it shall be ascertained that the same can not be

purchased at prices deemed reasonable and just by the said Commissioners and approved by the Secretary of War. And such condemnation proceedings may be taken pursuant to the act of Congress approved August first, eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, regulating the condemnation of land for public uses, or the joint resolution authorizing the purchase or condemnation of land in the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, approved June fifth, eighteen hundred and ninety-four.

SEC. 6. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of War to establish and enforce proper regulations for the custody, preservation, and care of the monuments now erected or which may be hereafter erected within the limits of the said national military park; and such rules shall provide for convenient access by visitors to all such monuments within the park, and the ground included therein, on such days and within such hours as may be designated and authorized by the Secretary of War.

SEC. 7. That if any person shall destroy, mutilate, deface, injure, or remove, except by permission of the Secretary of War, any column, statue, memorial structure, or work of art that shall be erected or placed upon the grounds of the park by lawful authority, or shall destroy or remove any fence, railing, inclosure, or other work for the protection or ornament of said park or any portion thereof, or shall destroy, cut, hack, bark, break down, or otherwise injure any tree, bush, or shrubbery that may be growing

upon said park, or shall cut down or fell or remove any timber, battle relic, tree or trees, growing or being upon said park, or hunt within the limits of the park, or shall remove or destroy any breastworks, earthworks, walls, or other defences or shelter or any part thereof constructed by the armies formerly engaged in the battles on the land or approaches to the park, or shall violate any regulation made and published by the Secretary of War for the government of visitors within the limits of said park, any person so offending and found guilty thereof, before any justice of the peace of the county in which the offence may be committed, shall, for each and every such offence, forfeit and pay a fine, in the discretion of the justice, according to the aggravation of the offence, of not less than five nor more than five hundred dollars, one-half for the use of the park and the other half to the informer, to be enforced and recovered before such justice in like manner as debts of like nature are now by law recoverable in the county where the offence may be committed.

SEC. 8. That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to cause to be made a suitable bronze tablet, containing on it the address delivered by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, at Gettysburg on the nineteenth day of November, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, on the occasion of the dedication of the national cemetery at that place, and such tablet, having on it besides the address a medallion likeness of President Lincoln, shall be

erected on the most suitable site within the limits of said park; which said address was in the following words, to wit:

“Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

“Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

“But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall

have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

And the sum of five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to pay the cost of said tablet and medallion and pedestal.

SEC. 9. That, to enable the Secretary of War to carry out the purposes of this act, including the purchase or condemnation of the land described in sections four and five of this act, opening, improving, and repairing necessary roads and avenues, providing surveys and maps, suitably marking the boundaries of the park, and for the pay and expenses of the Commissioners and their assistants, the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated; and all disbursements made under this act shall require the approval of the Secretary of War, who shall make annual report of the same to Congress.

Approved, February 11, 1895.

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